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October, 1943

AMERICAN SPEECH

A Quarterly of Linguistic Usage

Glossary of Railroad Terms

W. F. COTTRELL AND H. C. MONTGOMERY

Vocabulary of Melanesian Pidgin English

ROBERT A. HALL, JR.

Placement of Correlatives in Modern English

LILLIAN MERMIN

Articles by

W. P. LEHMANN AND R-M. S. HEFFNER
FRANZ H. MAUTNER

Reviews by

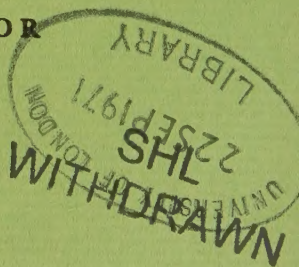
S. I. HAYAKAWA, GLADYS A. REICHARD

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

2960 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N. Y., OR

450 AHNAIP ST., MENASHA, WIS.

\$4.00 a year—Single copies \$1.00



AMERICAN SPEECH

VOLUME XVIII

OCTOBER, 1943

NUMBER 3

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¶ W. F. COTTRELL was, he tells us, 'born of a railroader, into a family of railroaders.' He is Associate Professor of Sociology at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, and author of *The Railroader* (1940). H. C. MONTGOMERY is head of the department of Classics at the same university. Their glossary of railroad terms 'is the result of a collaboration of interests in the sociological aspects of railroading, and color and variety in languages, including the English.' ¶ It is a long time since *American Speech* has printed an article on English word order. LILLIAN MERMIN, who writes in this issue on the placement of correlatives, is secretary and editorial assistant to a national research agency in the field of housing and public health, located at the Yale Medical School. This, her first publication, is based on research which she did at the University of Chicago during the summer of 1941. ¶ ROBERT A. HALL, JR., is Assistant Professor of Italian at Brown University; he has been doing special work during the war for the U. S. Armed Forces Institute, Columbia, and Yale. He describes himself as 'a student of linguistics specializing in Romance and Pidgin languages'; among his publications are *An Analytical Grammar of the Hungarian Language*, *Bibliography of Italian Linguistics*, *The Italian Questione della Lingua*, and two books on Melanesian Pidgin. ¶ FRANZ H. MAUTNER is Assistant Professor of Modern Languages at Hobart and William Smith Colleges, and author of two books and numerous articles on language and literature. The present article is his first contribution to *American Speech*. ¶ In this issue R-M. S. HEFFNER concludes his series of studies on the length of English vowels, the first of which appeared in *American Speech* as long ago as April, 1937. W. P. LEHMANN, of the University of Wisconsin, who also collaborated with Professor Heffner on the third article of the series, is at present in the U. S. Army.

Two of the sections in our quarterly bibliography, 'General and Historical Studies' by E. V. K. Dobbie and 'Phonetics' by S. N. Treviño, have become progressively shorter in recent issues, principally because many foreign periodicals are now unavailable here, which before the war provided a large percentage of the items. Until the amount of material in the two fields increases, each of these sections will appear only twice a year, Professor Treviño's in October and February and Professor Dobbie's in December and April. The 'Present Day English' section will continue to appear four times a year.

American Speech is published four times a year (No. 1, Feb.—No. 2, Apr.—No. 3, Oct.—No. 4, Dec.) by Columbia University Press: Single copies, \$1.00 (foreign, \$1.10)—\$4.00 a year (foreign, including Canada, \$4.30). Subscribers should notify the Publisher of change of address at least three weeks before publication of issue with which change is to take effect.

Manuscripts, editorial communications, and books for review should be addressed to The Editor of *American Speech*, Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. Subscriptions and business correspondence should be addressed to *American Speech*, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, or 450 Ahnaip St., Menasha, Wis.

Entered as second class matter March 26, 1938, at the post office at Menasha, Wis., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1943 by Columbia University Press.

AMERICAN SPEECH

VOLUME XVIII

OCTOBER, 1943

NUMBER 3

A GLOSSARY OF RAILROAD TERMS

W. F. COTTRELL and H. C. MONTGOMERY

Miami University

SEVERAL brief glossaries of railroad terms have already appeared in *American Speech*, namely, 'Railroad Lingo' by Russell V. Batie, Vol. 9 (Feb. 1934), p. 73f., 'Railroad Terms' by J. R. Schultz, Vol. 12 (Apr. 1937), p. 154, and 'The Lingo of Railroad Linemen' by D. V. Snapp, Vol. 13 (Feb. 1938), p. 70f. More comprehensive than the sum of all of these is the glossary in *The Railroader* by W. F. Cottrell, Stanford University Press (1940), pp. 118-139. The list in *The Railroader* was compiled from H. L. Mencken's revised edition of *The American Language* (1936), M. H. Wesen's *Dictionary of American Slang* (1934), Lucius Beebe's *High Iron* (1938), from various issues of *The Railroad Magazine*, and from the author's personal experience. A comprehensive glossary is also given by Freeman H. Hubbard, editor, in the April, 1940, issue of *The Railroad Magazine* under the title 'Lingo of the Rails.'

Batie has a few terms not included in the *Railroader* glossary. These are *G.Y.M.*, *pop car*, *skunk*, *train detainer*, *whiz*. Additions by Schultz are *hand grenade*, *hog back*, *iron man*, *latch*, *Little Nemo*, *sag*, *target*. Snapp's terms belong to a special category and are not found in the other lists, except that *corner*, meaning a pole to be guyed on account of deviation of line, has a different interpretation in Cottrell's glossary (see below). To a lineman a *slug* is a block to be buried for anchor with a different meaning to the railroad man (see below), while a *crummy* is logically a bunk car to a lineman rather than the caboose. *Grunt*, the lineman's helper, is listed by both Cottrell and Snapp with the additional meaning of locomotive driver given by the former.

There are otherwise few differences in meaning recorded. Batie adds an explanation of the origin of *brownie*, *crummy*, *snake*. Cottrell explains *shack*, brakeman, as probably named after the small huts which in the early days of railroading were frequently mounted on a car near the middle of a train, from which the brakeman sallied to set the hand brakes. Batie suggests that when the train is moving the brakeman stays in the caboose; hence the term *shack* is applied to him. Some of the railroad

terms are regional, and many have been borrowed from other vocations. Others have come into general use via the railroad. As far as possible both of these types have been deleted from the present glossary. Exclusive of duplications and variations as already noted, the complete list from *The Railroader* and 'Lingo of the Rails' is as follows:

- AIR MONKEY.** Air-brake repairman, a specialist among car repairers and machinists.
- ALLEY.** A clear track in a switching yard.
- ARMSTRONG.** A locomotive not equipped with a stoker.
- BABY LIFTER.** A passenger brakeman.
- BAD ORDER, XXX.** When a defective car is found by the car inspector, he tacks a small card with 'Bad Order' in bold lettering on it.
- BAIL IT IN.** Feed the firebox.
- BAKE HEAD, DIAMOND-CRACKER, TALLOW-POT, DUST-RAISER, FIRE-BOY, SODA JERKER, BELL RINGER.** Various titles for the locomotive fireman.
- BALING WIRE MECHANIC.** To refer to a man as a baling wire mechanic is to impugn his mechanical ability.
- BALLAST SCORCHER.** Speedy engineer.
- BAND-WAGON.** Pay car, or pay train, of the late 1800's.
- BANJO.** Fireman's shovel.
- BAREFOOT.** Car or engine without brakes.
- BATTING 'EM OUT.** Yard engine switching a string of cars.
- BATTLESHIP.** A large locomotive or large interurban car.
- BEAT HER ON THE BACK.** To maintain a high rate of speed, using the full power of the engine.
- BEDBUG.** Pullman Porter.
- BEEHIVE.** A yard office where the orders of the yardmaster are given to yard foremen or yard conductors.
- BEND THE RAIL.** To open a switch leading from the main line.
- BIG FOUR.** Usually means the four operating brotherhoods: The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, the Order of Railway Conductors, and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. It also stands for the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati and St. Louis unit of the New York Central Lines.
- BIG OX, DUDE, KING PIN, SKIPPER, CONDUCTER, BIG O, BRAINS.** Some of the titles given the conductor.
- BINDER.** Hand brake.
- BIRD CAGE.** Brakeman's or switchman's lantern.
- BLACK DIAMONDS.** Company coal.
- BLACK SNAKE.** Solid train of coal cars.
- BLAZER.** A hot journal with packing afire.
- BLEED.** To drain air from a car or cars.
- BLEEDER.** The valve by which air is bled from the auxiliary reservoir on a car.
- BLIZZARD LIGHTS.** Originally these lights, placed on either side of the headlight, served in emergency when the oil-burning headlight was blown out. Now they indicate that the train is non-schedule or extra.
- BLOOD.** Old time engine built by Manchester Locomotive Works.
- BLOW SMOKE.** To boast or exaggerate.
- BOARD.** The list, usually arranged on a blackboard, of the crews in service and their assignments. Also a list of the trains and hours of departure, with the engine and crew assigned to them. Term derived from semaphore arm.
- BOILER-HEADER.** Man riding in engine cab.
- BOILER WASH.** A high-water engineer.
- BOOKKEEPER.** Flagman.
- BOOMER, FLOATER.** A railroad man given to drifting from road to road.
- BOOTLEGGGER.** Train which runs over more than one railroad.
- BOWLING ALLEY.** Hand-fired coal-burning locomotive.
- BRAIN PLATE.** Trainman's badge, attached to his hat or cap.
- BRAKE CLUB.** Three-foot hickory stick used by freight trainmen to tighten hand brakes.
- BRASS.** A babbitt-lined blank of bronze

- which forms the bearing upon which the car rests. To brass a car is to replace one of these bearings.
- BREEZE.** Service air.
- BRIDGE HOG.** Bridge and building carpenter of the old school antedating steel and concrete.
- BROKEN KNUCKLES.** Railroad sleeping quarters.
- BROWNIE BOX.** Superintendent's car.
- BUCK THE BOARD.** When a train- or engineman is on the extra board he is called only when there is more work than can be handled by the regular crews, taking his turn in getting this work. While so doing, he is bucking the board.
- BUCKLE THE RUBBERS.** Connect air, steam, or signal hose.
- BUG.** A telegraph sending instrument in which the wrist movement is horizontal rather than vertical, as is usual on standard Morse equipment.
- BUG LINE.** Telephone connection between engine house and yard.
- BUGGY, HACK, HUT, KITCHEN, LOUSE CAGE, MONKEY HOUSE, PARLOR, WAY CAR, SHANTY, CRUMMY, CRIB, HEARSE, LIBRARY, SALOON, CHARIOT, CLOWN WAGON, BOUNCER.** Caboose.
- BUG TORCH.** Trainman's lantern.
- BULLFIGHTER.** Empty car.
- BULLGINE.** Steam locomotive.
- BULLNOSE.** Front draw-bar of a locomotive.
- BULL PEN.** Crew Room.
- BUMP.** When a crew is deprived of its assignment, as when a train is removed from the timetable, its members select the jobs they wish among those held by others with less seniority—this is called bumping—which likewise goes on until the man with the least seniority is removed from the extra board.
- BUMPER.** Retaining post at the end of a spur track.
- BUST UP A CUT.** To separate the cars in a train, removing some that have reached their destination, assigning others to through trains, etc.
- BUTTERFLY.** Note thrown, or handed, from a train.
- CABOOSE BOUNCE, CABOOSE HOP.** An early term for a train composed of only engine and caboose.
- CALLER.** Employee, usually a boy, whose duty it is to summon train and engine crews for duty.
- CALLIOPE.** A locomotive. Modern four-tone whistles brought on this appellation.
- CAMEL, MOTHER HUBBARD.** Engine with cab over middle of boiler.
- CAN.** Tank car.
- CAR CATCHER.** Rear brakeman.
- CAR KNOCKER.** Inspector.
- CARRYING THE BANNER.** Flagging, or wearing ostentatious Brotherhood emblems.
- CAR WHACKER.** From the early custom, when wheel-casting was not as exact as it now is, of tapping the wheels to detect defects such as cracks or seamy flanges—still resorted to if appearance of the wheel raises doubt.
- CHAIN GANG.** When a number of extra trains in excess of regular trains are being run, regular crews may be assigned to take trains in turn rather than to specific scheduled runs; they are operating a chain gang.
- CHAMBERMAID.** Machinist in round-house.
- CHASE THE RED.** To set out flag or red lantern to protect a train.
- CHECKER.** A company spy, particularly one who is checking on the loss of materials or the receipts of a conductor or agent.
- CHERRY PICKER.** Switchman, so called from red lights on switch stands.
- CHEW CINDERS.** Engines do this when reversed while running.
- CHIPPIES.** Narrow-gauge cars.
- CINDER CRUNCHER.** Switch tender.
- CINDER SNAPPER.** Passenger riding the platforms or observation seats where he collects cinders.
- CLAW.** Cinder hook.
- CLEAN THE CLOCK, WIPE THE CLOCK, WIPE THE GAUGE.** To make an emergency stop. In an emergency all pressure is taken off the train line so that the clocklike gauge shows nothing.
- CLEARANCE CARD.** Used in connection with order board to list orders and train

- for which signal is displayed.
- CLUB.** Three-foot hickory stick used by freight trainmen to tighten hand brakes.
- COCKLOFT, CROW'S NEST.** Cupola of a caboose.
- COLOR-BLIND.** One who is color-blind is an employee who cannot distinguish between his own money and that of the company.
- COMPANY BIBLE.** Book of rules.
- COMPANY JEWELRY.** Trainman's hat, badge and switch keys.
- COMPANY NOTCH, WALL STREET NOTCH.** The notch on the reverse lever quadrant of a locomotive conducive to the most economical operation under given conditions.
- CONSIST.** The make-up of a freight train in terms of car types.
- COOL A SPINDLE.** To cool a hotbox, by replacing the brass or putting water on the bearing.
- CORNER.** To strike a car which has not gone into the clear on a siding.
- CORNFIELD MEET.** Head-on collision between two trains using the same track.
- CRADLE.** A gondola or open-top car.
- COW CAGE, COW CRATE.** Stock car.
- CRUMB BOSS.** Man in charge of camp cars.
- CUSHIONS.** Passenger coaches.
- CUT.** A short string of cars coupled together or to a locomotive.
- DANCE THE CARPET.** To appear before an official for an investigation or for discipline.
- DEADHEAD.** Employee or other passenger riding on a company pass; also empty passenger car.
- DEAD IRON AND LIVE IRON.** The two sets of tracks on a scale.
- DEAD MAN'S THROTTLE.** Throttle requiring pressure to prevent power shut-off.
- DECK.** Platform of the cab of a locomotive; also roof of a freight car.
- DECORATE.** To go aloft to set the brakes of a freight train.
- DETAINDER.** Train dispatcher.
- DIAMOND.** A crossover.
- DIAMOND CRACKER.** A fireman on a coal-burning engine.
- DIE GAME.** To stall on a hill.
- DING DONG, FISH WAGON, DOODLE BUG.** Gas or gas-electric coach.
- DINGER.** Yardmaster or one of his assistants.
- DINO.** A Mexican section hand.
- DISHWASHERS.** Engine wipers at round-house.
- DITCH.** A train which has been wrecked is 'in the ditch.'
- DOG CHASER.** A relief crew sent to bring in a train which cannot be legally moved by its own crew.
- DOLLY.** Switch stand.
- DOLLY FLAPPER.** Switch tender.
- DONIKER.** Freight brakeman.
- DONKEY.** Section man.
- DOPE.** Official orders or instructions; company business; also composition for lubricating journals. 'Pin dope' lubricates locomotive side rods.
- DOUBLE.** To cut a train in half (on an insurmountable grade) and carry it over in two sections.
- DRAW-BAR FLAGGING, SHORT FLAGGING.** Loafing on a brakeman's duties; staying in the vicinity of a caboose when flagging instead of going back the distance required by regulation.
- DRIFTING THROTTLE.** Running with throttle cracked open to keep air and dust from being sucked into steam cylinders.
- DRILL CREW.** Yard crew.
- DRONE CAGE.** Private car.
- DROP.** Switching movement in which the locomotive pulls the cars.
- DROP HER DOWN.** Push reverse lever forward.
- DROPPER.** A car rider in a gravity classification ward.
- DROWNING IT OUT.** Cooling an overheated journal.
- DRUM.** A hard-shelled conductor.
- DRUMMER.** Yard conductor.
- DRUNKARD.** Late Saturday night train.
- DUDE WRANGLER.** Passenger brakeman.
- DUMMY.** Employes' train.
- DUSTING HER OUT.** Running sand through the fire-door of an oilburner to clean out soot.
- DUTCH CLOCK.** Speed recorder.
- EAGER EYE (also EAGLE EYE).** Locomotive engineer, who must be constantly

- on the lookout for signals and obstacles.
- EASY SIGN.** A signal indicating a slow movement of the train.
- ELECTRIC OWL.** Night operator.
- END MAN.** Parlor brakeman on a freight train.
- ESPEE.** The Southern Pacific Railroad.
- EXTRA BOARD.** A list of men to be assigned to take out trains in the event that a train is called when the regular crews have not had sufficient rest to permit them legally to leave the terminal.
- EYE.** Signal.
- FIELD.** Classification yard.
- FIRST READER.** Conductor's trainbook.
- FISH TAIL.** The peculiarly shaped blade of the semaphore.
- FIST.** Signature. Also among telegraphers the peculiarities in sending by which one operator comes to distinguish the sending of another.
- FIXED MAN.** Switchman in a hump yard assigned to a fixed position from which he rides the cars to desired place and returns.
- FIXED SIGNAL.** Derogatory for student brakeman standing on box-car with light out and cinder in his eye.
- FLAG.** Brakeman sent out to protect the rear end of a train making an unscheduled stop. Also an assumed name.
- FLAT WHEEL.** A lame train employee.
- FLIP.** To board a moving train. The word describes the motion accurately.
- FLYING SWITCH, DROP, HIGH DADDY.** Switching technique in which cars are cut off from behind a moving locomotive and the switch opened after the engine has passed.
- FLY LIGHT.** To go on duty after missing a meal.
- FOOTBOARD.** The step on the front and rear ends of yard locomotives.
- FOREIGN CAR.** A car belonging to a railroad other than that on which it is being run.
- FOUNTAIN.** Part of locomotive where steam issues from the boiler.
- FREEZE.** To cool an overheated journal.
- FREEZER, REEFER, RIFF.** Refrigerator car.
- GALVANIZER.** Car inspector.
- GANGWAY.** The rear portion of a locomotive deck.
- GARDEN.** Freight yard.
- GATE.** Switch.
- GENERAL.** Yardmaster.
- GET THE ROCKING CHAIR.** To be retired on a pension.
- GIVE HER THE GRIT.** Use sand.
- GLORY.** String of empties.
- GO HIGH.** To climb to the top of freight cars for purpose of signaling or setting brakes.
- GON.** A gondola car.
- GONE FISHING.** Laid off.
- GOO-GOO EYE.** Locomotive with two fire-doors.
- GOOSE.** To make an emergency stop.
- GOOSE HER.** Reverse locomotive when under headway.
- GO-TO-HELL SIGNAL.** Violently given with hand or lantern.
- GRABBER.** The conductor of a passenger train.
- GRAB IRON.** Steel bar, used as a hand hold, required by I.C.C. regulations to be firmly attached to cars and engines as a safety measure. A sill step or foot rail is also required.
- GRASSHOPPER.** Old-style locomotive with vertical boiler and cylinders.
- GRASS WAGON.** Tourist car.
- GRAVEYARD.** Spur tracks for obsolete or disused locomotives.
- GRAZING TICKET.** Meal book.
- GREENBACK.** Frog for rerailing car or locomotive.
- GREEN EYE.** Clear signal.
- GRIEVER.** A representative of the union who consults with railroad officials in connection with complaints made by employees—particularly applied to representatives of the Big Four.
- GRIND.** Shay geared engine.
- GROUND-HOG.** Brakeman.
- GUN.** Track torpedo used for signaling; also the injector of a locomotive.
- GUT.** Air hose.
- HALF.** Two weeks (period).
- HAND BOMBER.** Engine without automatic stoker.
- HAND-ON.** Train order or company mail caught with the hoop.

HANGING UP THE CLOCK. Boomer term for hocking a railroad watch.

HARNESS. Dress uniform of a passenger conductor, blue tail-coat.

HAT. Ineffectual railroad man.

HAY. Sleep on the job.

HAY BURNER. An oil lantern.

HEAD IN. To take a side track.

HEAD MAN. The freight train brakeman who rides the locomotive.

HEEL. Car or cars at end of track with brakes set.

HELPER. The auxiliary engine on a double-header.

HERALD. The device, monogram, or symbol of a railroad company, usually used as an identifying marker on freight cars.

HERDER. Carman assigned to couple engines to trains and uncouple them from trains on departure and arrival at a terminal.

HIGHBALL. Signal for a clear track, deriving from the first train signals, which were in the form of painted metal globes hoisted to the crossarm of a tall pole when trains were to proceed.

HIGHBALL ARTIST. Locomotive engineer noted for speedy running.

HIGH LINER. A fast passenger train.

HIGH-WHEELER. Old-fashioned type of passenger engine; also fast passenger train or limited.

HIKER. A lineman who 'hikes sticks' rather than, prosaically, climbs poles.

HIND SHACK, HIND HOOK. Rear brakeman. Protects the rear of a train.

HIT 'ER. Work an engine harder.

HIT THE GRIT. To step from a moving train.

HOG LAW, PURE FOOD LAW. The federal statute providing that train or engine crews be removed from duty after sixteen hours of continuous service.

HOME GUARD. An employee long associated with a single company; the opposite of a boomer.

HOOK. Wrecking train.

HOPPER. Car with trap doors and inclined floor for speedy dumping.

HOPTOAD. A derail iron.

HORSE HER OVER. To put an engine into reverse. On the early, manually operated, reversing equipment it took con-

siderable jockeying to reverse an engine while it was in motion. This is done by compressed air on modern locomotives.

HOSE COUPLER. Brakeman who handles a train by himself with the road engine in a passenger terminal.

HOT. With steam up.

HOT JEWEL. Hotbox.

HOTSHOT, MEAT RUN. Fast train of any sort.

HOT WORKER. Boilermaker who repairs leaks in the flue sheet or firebox while pressure is still on the boiler.

HUMPBAC JOB. Assignment on a local way-freight train.

HUMP YARD. A yard on an incline where, after trains have been broken up through movements by the engine, the cars are allowed to proceed by gravity to their destination in the yard.

IN. When a train or engineman is at his home terminal and off duty he is 'in.'

INDIAN VALLEY RAILROAD. A mythical road where there are always good jobs waiting; the happy haven of railway legend.

IN THE CLEAR. When a train has passed over switch and frog so far that another can pass it without damage, it is in the clear.

IN THE COLOR. Train standing in signal block waiting for clear board.

IN THE DITCH. Wrecked or derailed.

IN THE HOLE. A train waiting on a passing track for another is 'in the hole.'

INDICATORS. A pair of illuminated signs on engine and caboose on which is displayed the number of the train.

IRON SKULL. Boilermaker.

JACK. Locomotive.

JAM BUSTER. Assistant yardmaster.

JANNEY. To couple.

JAY ROD. Clinker hook.

JERK SOUP, JERK A DRINK. To take water from a pan between the rails while the train is in motion.

JERRY. A section worker; sometimes applied to any laborer.

JEWEL. Journal brass.

JIGGER. Full tonnage train of dead freight.

JIMMIES. Four-wheeled ore or coal cars.

JOHNSON BAR. The reverse lever which

- regulates the direction of motion and the portion of the stroke of the piston during which steam is admitted to the cylinder.
- JOIN THE BIRDS.** To jump from a moving train when collision is imminent.
- JOINT.** A length of rail, usually thirty-three feet. To 'ride to a joint' is to bring cars together so that they are coupled.
- JUGGLER.** Brakeman who must load and unload less than carload lots at way stations.
- KATY.** The Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad.
- KEELEY.** A small tank containing water which is hung on the side of a car and attached by a hose to the journal box when there is a hotbox.
- KETTLE, COFFEE POT, DINKY, PEANUT ROASTER.** Small locomotive.
- KICK.** To uncouple a car or cars while in motion, allowing them to roll to a stop.
- KICKER.** Triple valve in defective order which throws airbrakes into emergency when service application is intended.
- KING.** Yardmaster or freight conductor.
- KING SNIPE.** Foreman of track gang.
- KITCHEN.** Engine cab, also caboose. The firebox is the **KITCHEN STOVE**.
- LADDER.** Main track of a yard.
- LAY BY.** Passing track.
- L. C. L.** Less than freight carload.
- LETTER.** Service certificate.
- LEVER JERKER.** Interlocker lever man.
- LIGHT ENGINE.** Has nothing to do with the weight of the engine; it means that the engine is moving outside a yard without cars attached.
- LIGHTNING SLINGER.** Telegrapher.
- LINER.** Passenger train.
- LINK AND PIN.** Old-fashioned or obsolete; from early form of coupler.
- LIZARD SCORCHER.** Train cook.
- LUNG DOCTOR.** Locomotive engineer who pulls out drawbars.
- MADHOUSE.** Engine foreman.
- MAIN IRON.** Main track, high iron.
- MAIN PIN.** Executive.
- MAKE-UP** To assemble cars into a train.
- MANIFEST.** Fast freight usually made up of merchandise, perishables, or livestock.
- MARKER.** Whenever a train is on the main line it must display from the rear 'markers' showing the location of the train.
- MASTER MANIAC.** Master mechanic, who is in charge of the mechanical department of an operating division.
- MASTER MIND.** The trainmaster, who supervises the operating activities of a division.
- MAUL.** To work an engine with full stroke and full throttle.
- MERCHANDISE PEDDLER.** Way freight train.
- MERRY-GO-ROUND.** Turntable.
- MIDDLE MAN, SWING.** Second brakeman on freight train.
- MIKE.** Mikado type engine.
- MILL.** Steam locomotive.
- MODOC.** Employees' train.
- MONKEY.** If a crew is between terminals when sixteen hours have elapsed since leaving, 'the monkey gets them' and they are required by I.C.C. rules to 'tie up' until a new crew comes.
- MONKEY MOTION.** Walschaert or Baker valve-gear on locomotive.
- MOONLIGHT MECHANIC.** Night round-house foreman.
- MOP.** The Missouri Pacific Railroad.
- MOTION.** The crossheads, side and main rods, eccentrics, link blocks, etc.—the visible and moving driving-gear of a locomotive.
- MOUNTAIN PAY.** Overtime.
- MOVING DIRT.** Shoveling coal.
- MOVING SPIRIT.** Train dispatcher.
- MTYS.** Empty freight cars.
- MUD CHICKEN.** Surveyor.
- MUD HOP.** A car checker who lists the cars in arriving and departing trains.
- MUDSHOP.** Yard clerk's office.
- MUD SUCKER.** A nonlifting injector.
- MUTT AND JEFF PUMP.** Denver and Rio Grande locomotive.
- NIGGERHEAD.** Steam dome on top of locomotive boiler from which issue pipes to injector, and other auxiliary equipment.
- NO BILL.** A worker who refuses to join the union—particularly a train- or engineman.
- NON-AIR.** A non-union worker.
- NOSE ON.** Coupled to the front end of a locomotive.

NUMBER GRABBER (sometimes **NUMBER DUMMY**). A car checker.

NUT SPLITTER. Machinist.

OLD GIRL. A locomotive, always given a title of the female gender.

ON THE GROUND. On the ties; a derailed train is on the ground.

OP. Telegrapher.

OPEN THE GATE. Switch a train onto or off a siding.

OPERATOR'S FIST. The distinctive, cursive type of handwriting characteristic of telegraph operators and train dispatchers.

O.R.C. Conductor, member of Order of Railway Conductors.

ORDERS, FLIMSIES, TISSUES. Train orders, telegraphed or telephoned to an operator from a dispatcher, delivered to the conductor for himself and crew. They indicate stops, meets, waits, and other movements of the train, not covered by the timetable.

ORNAMENT. Station master.

O.S. To report a train past a station to the dispatcher.

OUT. When a train or engineman is either on or off duty at a point other than his home terminal he is out.

OVERLAP. Where two block signals control the same stretch of track.

PADDLE. Semaphore signal.

PADDLE WHEEL. Narrow gauge locomotive with driving boxes outside the wheels.

PAIR OF PLIERS. Conductor's ticket punch.

PAPERWEIGHT. Clerk in an uptown office.

PARLOR BRAKEMAN. The brakeman assigned to cover the rear end of a freight train.

PECK. Twenty-minute stop allowed for a meal in a railroad restaurant.

PEDDLE. To set out freight cars.

PEDDLER. Local way freight.

PERSUADER. Blower for locomotive fire.

PIG, HOG. Locomotive; hence engineers are **HOGHEADS**, **HOG-JOCKEYS**, **GRUNTS**, etc.

PIGPEN. Roundhouse.

PIKE. Railroad system.

PIN. To head for home.

PIN PULLER. Switchman who cuts off cars in train yard.

PINK. Caution card.

PLUG. Throttle. In old days engineers were called plug pullers.

POLE (verb). Run light.

POSITIVE BLOCK. Locomotive engineer.

POSSUM BELLY. A toolbox under the deck and accessible from the side of the caboose, also on some work cars such as bridge and building outfits and wrecking cars.

POUND HER. To work a locomotive to capacity.

PUD. Pick up and delivery service.

PULLER. Switch engine.

PULL FREIGHT. To depart or to give up a job.

PULL THE AIR. To set the brakes by opening the conductor's valve.

PULL THE PIN. To leave a town. Derives from the link-and-pin coupler days.

PUSHER. An extra engine at the rear of a train to help in starting or in going over a steep grade.

PUT 'ER ON. Reduce air in braking system.

PUTTY. Steam.

QUILL. Whistle (Southern word).

RABBIT. Derail iron.

RAG. Switchman.

RAIL. Railroad man.

RAIL FAN. Anyone, employe or not, who makes a hobby of railroading.

RAP THE STOCK. Open throttle.

RATTLE HER HOCKS. Get speed out of a locomotive.

RAWHIDE. A train or run requiring much work. A foreman who is overbearing 'rawhides' his men; also called a **BEEDLER**.

REAL ESTATE. Low-grade coal.

RED BALL, BALL OF FIRE. Fast freight train.

RED BOARD. Stop signal.

RED EYE. A danger signal of a semaphore, also known as a red board.

RED ONION. Railroad eating house.

RETAINER. Small air valve near brake wheel.

RIDIN' THE POINT. Riding a freight train's dead end.

RINGMASTER. Yardmaster.

RIPRAP. Loose pieces of heavy stone or masonry used to protect from erosion road-beds exposed to water action.

RIPTRACK. Minor car repair siding.

ROOFED. To be caught in close clearance.

ROOF GARDEN. A helper engine.

RULE 'G'. Railroad regulation against drinking.

RUN. The particular train to which a worker is assigned is his run.

RUN-AROUND. If a man whose turn it is to work fails to be called he may claim pay for the run which he missed. He is given a 'run-around.'

RUNT. Dwarf signal.

SACRED OX. Another title for the helper engine.

SAP. Brake club.

SCISSORS BILL. A railroad detective; a propensity for sticking his nose into other people's business develops that organ (until it is a bill).

SCOOP. Fireman's shovel. Also step on front and rear of switch engine.

SCOOT. Shuttle train.

SECRET WORKS. Automatic air-brake application.

SENIORITY. The rights of passenger trains over freight and of express trains over locals; also the right of way in one direction on a single-track line. Also the common meaning of length of service of an employee.

SHACK, CLUB WINDER, HIND HOOK. Terms for brakemen.

SHAKING 'EM UP. Switching.

SHINER. Trainman's lantern.

SHINING TIME. Starting time.

SHOO-FLY. Temporary track.

SHORT. Car set out between stations.

SHUFFLE THE DECK. To switch cars on house tracks at every station.

SKATE. Shoe placed on rail to stop car with defective brakes.

SKIN YOUR EYE. Engineer's warning to men on left side of cab when approaching curve.

SKYROCKETS. Red hot cinders from smoke stack.

SLUG. Heavy fire in a locomotive firebox.

SMOKE. Fireman.

SMOKE ORDERS. Moving a train from

one station to another without orders and by watching for the smoke of an approaching train on the same track; practiced in early years of railroading.

SMOKER. Locomotive.

SNAKEHEAD. A rail coming loose from the ties and piercing a car floor; a common accident among strap iron rails of a century ago.

SNAP. To push or pull with another engine.

SNIPE. Track laborer.

SNUFF DIPPERS. Coal-burning engines that burn lignite.

SOFT BELLIES. Wooden frame cars.

SOLID TRACK. Track full of cars.

SPEED GAGER. Locomotive engineer.

SPEEDY. Call boy.

SPIKE A TORCH. Throw a fusee.

SPOT. A nap taken while on duty by trainmen while in the hole for another train, or by shopmen somewhere out of sight of a foreman. Also to place a car or engine in any designated position, especially in setting out freight cars and making up freight trains.

SPOTBOARD. Guide used in surfacing or ballasting track to obtain an even bed.

SQUEEZERS. Car-retarding system used in some yards.

STAR-GAZER. A brakeman who fails to observe signals.

STAKE. Pole used in dangerous, and now rare, method of switching.

STEM. Track or right-of-way.

STEM-WINDER. Climax-type geared engine.

STICK. Staff used on certain stretches of track to control the block.

STINGER. A brakeman, named because of his habit of using a brake club on the soles of a hobo's shoes to waken him.

STIRRUP. First step of a freight car.

STOCKHOLDER. An employe who is always looking out for the company's interest.

STOPPER PULLER. Member of crew following engine in switching.

STRAWBERRY PATCH. Rear end of caboose by night.

STRAW HAT BOYS. Railroad men who work only in pleasant weather.

STRETCH 'EM OUT. Take out slack

in couplings and drawbars of a train.
STRING. Two or more cars coupled together; also a telegraph wire.
SUCK IT BY, JERK BY. To make a flying switch.
SWITCH MONKEY. Switchman.
TAKE THE RUBBER OUT. Disconnect the air hoses.
TAKING YOUR MINUTES. Stopping for lunch.
TANK. Locomotive.
TEAKETTLE. Any old or leaky locomotive.
TELLTALES. Any warning device.
31 ORDER. Order which must be signed for. 19 Order can be handed on, unsigned for.
THOUSAND MILER. Dark blue shirt affected by railroad workers which doesn't show soiling over prolonged periods.
TIE DOWN. Set hand brakes.
TIE 'EM DOWN. To set the hand brakes on a car before leaving it on a siding or spur.
TIE ON. Couple on.
TIE UP. To stop for rest, or for a meal. 'The iron horse is tied up.'
TING-A-LING. Small engine with 'tinny' bell.
TOAD. Derail iron.
TOEPATH. Running board.
TONK. Car repairer.
TOP DRESSER DRAWER. Upper bunk in a caboose.
TOWER BUFF. Overzealous railfan who disregards 'Stay Out' signs, etc.
TRAIN LINE. Main hose and pipes carrying compressed air to brake system.
TRAVELING GRUNT. Road foreman of engines.
TRAVELING MAN. Engineer or fireman unassigned to a regular run.
TRICK. Shift, hours of duty.
TRIMMER. Engine working in hump yard.
TURN HIM IN. To report a person for malfeasance.

UNDERGROUND HOG. Chief engineer.
VARNISH. Passenger cars or train, dating from time when passenger equipment was highly lacquered. Also **PLUSH RUN.**
WABASH. To corner a car.
WALK AGAINST THE GUN. To go up a stiff grade with the injector on.
WALK THE DOG. To wheel a freight so fast as to cause the cars to sway from side to side.
WALSCHAERTS. The driving gear of a locomotive designed by Egide Walschaerts about 1900 in Belgium.
WET MULE IN THE FIREBOX. Bad job of firing a locomotive.
WHALE BELLY. Steel coal-car.
WHEEL. To drive a locomotive at high speed.
WHEN DO YOU SHINE? What time were you called for?
WHISKERS, or AGE. Seniority.
WHITE EYE. A semaphore signal showing clear track ahead.
WHITE FEATHER. A plume of steam over safety valves, indicating high boiler pressure.
WIDEN ON HER. Increase speed.
WIGWAG. A grade crossing signal.
WILLIE. Waybill for loaded car.
WIND. Air brakes.
WING HER. To apply the brakes.
WISDOM BOX. Yardmaster's office.
WOLF, LONE WOLF. Non-Brotherhood man.
WRECKING CREW. Relief crew. A derogatory epithet derived from the difficulty regular men sometimes have in rearranging a car used by relief men.
WRONG IRON. Main track on which current of traffic is in the opposite direction.
X. Empty car.
YARD GEESE. Switchmen.
YARD GOAT. Switching engine.
ZULU CAR. Emigrant car, particularly in Canadian railroading.

ON THE PLACEMENT OF CORRELATIVES IN MODERN ENGLISH

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FOR SOMETHING LIKE two hundred years a detail of 'correctness' about correlative conjunctions has been an element in the stock of standard setters of the language; correlatives must take parallel positions within a sentence, they have said, or else the meaning conveyed is inaccurate and the sentence incorrect. According to Leonard, this was a principle first espoused during the 18th century by a few crusading individuals whose pace was not matched by the usage of their times.¹ Today the principle is a middle-aged rule, and exists still in the face of much unrespecting practice.

In 1933 Pooley pointed out the rule's persistence in modern school textbooks, which he believed had repeated the rule from earlier texts with little regard for its modern pertinence.² The present paper is an attempt to survey briefly some of the other important conveyors of standards of grammar, in order to discover in them what justification there may be for the rule's existence or to arrive at some reasonable adjustment of its application—either or both of which findings should perhaps ease somewhat the plight of the careful writer or editor who finds no clear-cut answer to the question of correlative placement.

A search has been made of recognized authorities for expressions of opinion on the subject, and has been supplemented by notes of usage from general reading in miscellaneous grammatical works and other non-fiction of a high grade. While many examples of usage to be discussed are found in fiction and poetry and perhaps most commonly in newspaper and general magazine articles, they are not presented here—the only quotations from such sources being those cited second-hand from the dictionaries or other authorities. The purpose has been to tilt the scale on the conservative side, since the so-called careful writer or editor, in whose

1. Sterling Andrus Leonard, *The Doctrine of Correctness in English Usage, 1700-1800* (1929).

2. Robert C. Pooley, *Grammar and Usage in Textbooks on English* (1933). It is worth noting that Arthur G. Kennedy's textbook, *Current English*, which appeared in 1935, reflects a modern approach; while it deals with correlatives topically, the question of their position is ignored. It is also of interest here that Leonard's study of *Current English Usage* (1932) and its companion *Facts About Current English Usage* by Marckwardt and Walcott (1938), which subjected many traditionally 'wrong' expressions to the test of usage and authoritative opinion, ignored the question of correlative non-parallelism.

interest this investigation has been made, is usually more attached to tradition than the enlightened expert feels he need be.

Information was sought both under correlative conjunctions as a group and under the individual correlative expressions which most commonly involve the question of parallelism: *both . . . and (also)*; *not only . . . but (also)*; *either . . . or*; *neither . . . nor*; and *whether . . . or*. With the exception of two handbooks and possibly one grammar, none of the authorities discussed word position under the general topic of correlatives, and the treatment of the individual correlatives in all sources was quite unequal. Information was found under one or another of the words of the specific expressions, as under *both* for *both . . . and*, *but* or *not* for *not only . . . but*, etc. In general, *both* and *either* were found to be given the fullest treatment.

1. *The Dictionaries: Conservatism with Leaks*

a) Webster's *New International*³ conforms to the pattern of parallelism:

Both usually precedes the first of two coordinated words or phrases⁴ and is followed by *and* before the second word or phrase (both in London and in Berlin; in both America and England).

Neither, it tells us,

usually introduces the first of two or more coordinate words or clauses joined by *nor* or, formerly, *neither*. . . .

and Shakespeare is quoted in a parallel sentence. As for *either*, this is

used before two or more coordinate words or clauses which are joined by *or*; as, the assertion must be either true or false; either in late spring or early summer; (emphatic) always pitched either too high or too low; either he goes or I do.

Obviously the second example, 'either in late spring or early summer,' violates the principle espoused here and under *both*. The same freedom is found in its example for *whether . . . or*: 'whether by hook or crook.' (The justification for such freedom will be discussed below.)

b) The *Oxford English Dictionary*⁵ says this in slightly different words:

Preceding two homogeneous words (sbs., adjs., vbs., advbs., or preps.) or phrases, coupled by *and*, *both* adds emphasis to the sentence . . . ,

the 'homogeneous words or phrases'⁶ being illustrated in a number of examples, of which the following are typical:

both juster and kinder; both by day and by night; he both walks and runs.

3. By permission, Webster's *New International Dictionary*, 2d ed. Copyright 1934, 1939, G. & C. Merriam Co.

4. For some reason it neglects coordinated clauses.

5. By permission, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

6. Here too 'homogeneous clauses' are disregarded.

Yet tucked in among quotations using such order is the following:

I looked upon this as a masterpiece both for argument and style. (Goldsmith, *Vic. W.*, 1766 (1806), ii, 7.)

And for *not only . . . but* (under *but*), the *OED* carries no discussion and cites seven quotations, three of which contain obvious non-parallelisms:

We had time not only to see the Town, but the places circumjacent also. (Wheler, *Journ. Greece*, 1682.)

I was not only endowed with the faculty of speech, but likewise with some rudiments of reason. (Swift, *Gulliver*, 1727.)⁷

They not only tell lies but bad lies. (Jowett, *Plato*, 1875.)

Under *neither . . . nor* it says,

The regular position of *neither* is immediately before the first of the alternative expressions, but it is frequently placed earlier in the sentence.

The majority of the quotations here (predominantly prior to the 18th century) are parallel constructions, but several non-parallelisms are given, as follows:

Adam . . . being neither monarch, nor his imaginary monarchy hereditary. (Locke, *Govt.*, 1690.)

She neither has lawtith nor shame. (Ramsay, *Stepdaughter*, 1728.)

Of me thou shalt neyther haue ffee nor aduantage. (*Digby Myst.*, c.1485.)

There was now no respite neither by day nor night for this devoted city. (Southey, *Penins. War*, 1827.)

Christianity abrogated no duty . . . neither for Jew nor Gentile. (H. Coleridge, *Ess.*, 1849.)

Under *either . . . or* it also gives no discussion of position, beyond its citing the old post-adjective order for *either*,⁸ and its quotations are about evenly divided between parallel and non-parallel uses. For *whether . . . or* the *OED* raises no question of standard position, and practically all of its quotations (early examples) are parallel. The one of these which is not strictly parallel is:

That Reason which remains always one and the same, whether it speaks through this or that person. (Coleridge, *Friend*, 1818.)⁹

c) According to the *Century Dictionary*,¹⁰ the word *both* is an adverb preceding two coordinate terms (words or phrases)¹¹ joined by *and*, and

7. The *likewise* seems stronger than *also* in carrying over the thought of the verb.

8. See footnote 22.

9. See discussion of *whether . . . or* in section 4, b, below.

10. By permission, *Century Dictionary*, copyright D. Appleton-Century Co.

11. Clauses again slighted.

standing thus in an apparent conjunctive relation, *both . . . and* equivalent to *not only . . . but also*.

There are five sentences quoted, all of which are parallel. A typical quotation is:

But these discourses were both written and delivered in the freshness of his complete manhood. (Holmes.)

Neither . . . nor, it says, is found

preceding one of a series of two or more alternative clauses,¹² and correlative with *nor* (or formerly, *neither* or *ne*) before the following clause or clauses.

It quotes three sentences (none of which, incidentally, links 'clauses'), one of which is non-parallel:

And feast your eyes and ears
neither with dogs nor bears.
(Ben Jonson, *Masque of Owls*.)

Under *either . . . or*, for which it gives a similar explanation, the *Century Dictionary* cites three sentences, all strictly parallel. *Whether . . . or*, it says, is found

introducing the first of two (or more) alternatives, the second being introduced by *or* (or *or whether*).

Of eight quotations, only one is not strictly parallel:

So long as men had slender means, whether of keeping out cold or checkmating it with artificial heat, Winter was an unwelcome guest, especially in the country. (Lowell, *Study Windows*.)

2. *The Handbooks: Conservatism Plus; but Practice Makes Imperfect*

a) Professor Perrin¹³ treats the problem topically, as follows:

1. Some coordinating conjunctions are used in pairs:
both . . . and either . . . or neither . . . nor so . . . as
not only . . . but (but also) whether . . . or
2. Except *either . . . or* and *both . . . and*, these conjunctions are slightly formal, showing a more conscious sentence planning than is common in familiar or informal English:

Not only was the water muddy, but it had dark greenish tadpoles swimming in it.

3. Since these correlatives are coordinating conjunctions, the elements they connect should be of equal grammatical value and in parallel form:

Nouns: He said that both the novel and the play were badly written.

Adj.: He must have been either drunk or crazy.

Phrases: They can be had not only in the usual sizes but also in the outsizes.

Clauses: Whether sale was for cash or a mortgage was given, it seemed too much to pay.

12. Here words and phrases slighted.

13. Porter G. Perrin, *An Index to English*. By permission. Copyright Scott, Foresman and Co., 1939.

In his own practice, however, we find:

And on the other hand, the study of language runs into artistic considerations; contributing to literary criticism and the art of conversation, where language is not only described, but its effectiveness must be considered, and taste and judgment count as well as scientific principles.¹⁴

In reading aloud the writer must read more slowly than with the eye alone and will not only catch unhappy phrases and sentences but will see more of the details. . . .¹⁵

Metonymy is not only a common figure of speech . . . but it is one way in which the meanings of words change. . . .¹⁶

b) Stratton¹⁷ says correlative conjunctions are 'regularly used in separable pairs,' but he amplifies the distinction between 'coordinating' and 'subordinating' ones.

In using coordinating correlatives, be careful to follow both pairs by parallel elements. Wrong: Several gales caused damage both in the city and country. Correct: Several gales caused damage in both city and country (or both in the city and in the country).

Listed as coordinating conjunctions are *both . . . and, either . . . or, neither . . . nor, not merely . . . but, not only . . . but, nor . . . nor. Whether . . . or*, we are told, is a subordinating correlative conjunction, and for this type the definition is 'a connecting word that joins sentence units of unequal rank.' In other words, *whether . . . or* does not require parallelism,¹⁸ but the others do.¹⁹

c) Mr. Fowler²⁰ says little of correlative conjunctions,²¹ but speaks up on 'common parts in *both . . . and* phrases':

Words placed between the *both* and the *and* are thereby declared not to be common to both members; accordingly, 'both in India and Australia' is wrong; the right arrangements are a) 'both in India and in Australia'; b) 'in both India and Australia'; of these b) sounds formal, and is often shrunk from as a remedy worse than the disease; but there is no objection to a), which should be used. Similarly, 'both the Indians and Australians' is common but wrong; 'the both Indians and Australians' is theoretically right but practically impossible.²²

14. *Ibid.*, p. 369.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 518.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 392.

17. Clarence Stratton, *Handbook of English*. By permission. Copyright McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1940.

18. See discussion of *whether . . . or* below.

19. Stratton apparently considers the rule most important with *both*, for he gives the restriction under the separate listing of this word, whereas he is not consistent or complete in his treatment of the other individual expressions.

20. H. W. Fowler, *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (1940). By permission, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

21. He has a listing for 'conjunction,' where he mentions the 'coordinating' and 'subordinating' ones but neglects the correlative function; and under 'correlatives' he notes broadly 'mutual reference' sets of words; 'cause and effect, parent and child, either and or, then and when, so and as, etc.'

22. Regarding 'the both Indians and Australians' it is worth noting that the *OED* mentions that *both* was sometimes found between the substantive and the defining

There are several points of discussion here, which will be treated in a later section.

For *not only . . . but* (under *not*) Fowler lists a half-page of 'chaos' which 'must surely call a blush to the Englishman's cheek for his journalists' slovenly ways.' Under *either . . . or* and *neither . . . nor* he also discusses position but notes, 'The misplacement should be avoided in careful writing but is often permissible colloquially.' For *whether . . . or* he ignores the question.

3. *The Grammars: Decided Liberalism; Various Shades*

a) Kruisinga²³ mentions the correlatives in several places, but while his terminology is fairly conservative he gives no definite restriction on position. Although he says that

. . . conjunctions can connect two parallel parts of a sentence, these always coordinating,²⁴

his use of 'parallel' and 'coordinating' is not buttressed as Stratton's is. A little further on he says:

Many conjunctions appear frequently in correlative groups: such are *both . . . and*, *either . . . or*, *neither . . . nor*, *what with . . . and*, all of them coordinating.²⁵

And he quotes here one *neither . . . nor* sentence, which is parallel. In still another place he states:

When two parts of a sentence (not two complete sentences) form a loose group, they can be linked by correlative groups, of which the first element can be looked upon as an adverb, the second a conjunction. Such correlative groups are *both . . . and*, *alike . . . and*, *at once . . . and*, *either . . . or*, *neither . . . nor*, *not only . . . but (also)*, *what with . . . what with*, *what with . . . and*.²⁶

Here out of eight quotations containing correlatives under discussion in this paper, only one is not parallel:

. . . but Mel was both gallant and had, in his military career, the reputation of being a gallant. (Meredith, *Harrington*, ch. 2, p. 15.)

One might almost conclude, then, that Kruisinga, though not clear-cut on the point, tends to side with the rule. Yet, in his own usage one finds

element and cites usage from the early 15th century to the 19th, a typical quotation being: 'To plate the both horns round about with gold.' (Chapman, *Odyss.*, c. 1615.) This is of course *both* alone, not the correlative. In the *Century Dictionary*, there is a quotation containing such placement with the complete expression: '(He) was indeed the country's both minion, mirror, and wonder.' (Ford, *Line of Life*). Also, the *OED*, under *either . . . or*, has an example of the old order with that correlative ('Formerly *either* might be preceded by an adj.'): 'The mutable and transitory *either* pleasures or profits of this life.' (Bp. J. King, *Jonas* . . . 1594.)

23. Etsko Kruisinga, *A Handbook of Present-day English*, 5th ed. (1931-32).

24. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 417.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 422.

26. Vol. IV, p. 479.

many 'misplacements,' involving position of prepositions, verbs, and infinitive phrases—or, to follow Perrin's wordage, involving inaccurate linking where parallel nouns, adjectives, phrases, and clauses should be joined:

Many examples, both of *will* and *would* in Salzman. . . .²⁷

Would is used as a modal preterite in the main clause of a hypothetical statement, both in declarative and interrogative sentences. . . .²⁸

Some verbs are evidently connected, both in form and meaning. . . .²⁹

The verb *to be* not only forms a close syntactic group with the participle, but also with an *ing*.³⁰

The construction is found in positive sentences, but more frequently in negative sentences, both to deny a statement of facts and a suggestion of a possibility.³¹

We shall see further on that English not only has no such form, but that it would even be contrary to the structure of living English. . . .³²

The meaning of *to have* as an independent verb is gone in the construction, for it is used where the subject can not possibly 'experience' anything, whether because it is a thing or the name of a dead person.³³

It may therefore be assumed that he has no prejudice in the matter.

b) Jespersen³⁴ ignores the correlatives, both collectively and individually, and one finds them in non-parallel positions in many of his sentences:

Finally it may be said that it requires greater mental energy to content oneself with one negative which has to be remembered during the whole length of the utterance both by the speaker and the hearer, than to repeat the negative idea. . . .³⁵

When we say *young Burns* we may either think of the contrast between two persons of the same name, one young, one old, or of one person only.³⁶

. . . hence when we have to speak of the whole species we must either use the definite or indefinite singular. . . .³⁷

Psychology and historical studies often make one realize that much of what is originally considered 'bad grammar' is due neither to sheer perversity, nor ignorance on the part of the speaker or writer, but is ultimately due to the imperfections of the language as such.³⁸

27. Vol. II, p. 486.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 489.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 340.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

32. Vol. III, p. 1, footnote.

33. 'Contributions to English Syntax,' *English Studies*, XI (February, 1929).

34. Otto Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar* (edition of 1933); and *Essentials of English Grammar* (1933).

35. 'Logic and Grammar,' *S.P.E. Tract XVI* (1924), p. 10.

36. *Essentials of English Grammar*, p. 91.

37. 'Logic and Grammar,' p. 6.

38. *Essentials of English Grammar*, quoted without citation in *Year's Work in English Studies*, XIV (1933), p. 63.

A special case is *have*, which is used not only of what is unintentional on the part of the subject, . . . but also . . . serves to express causality on the part of the subject. . . .³⁹

Accordingly there is no necessity for a language to possess a dative case, and hundreds of languages have either never had such a case or have done away with it in course of time where it formerly existed.⁴⁰

c) Curme⁴¹ has a section on coordinating conjunctions and conjunctive adverbs, in which he deals with many 'copulative' expressions, among them correlatives, but mentions no restrictive principle. He gives several pages of examples, in which parallelism just barely predominates. For *both* . . . *and* he gives a sentence used by the *OED*, 'He can sing and dance both,' and notes also the variant 'He can both sing and dance'—avoiding, consciously or not, the non-parallel possibility 'He both can sing and dance'; for *neither* . . . *nor* he has eight sentences, all parallel; for *either* . . . *or* there are three parallel and two non-parallel; for *not only* . . . *but* there are two parallel and one non-parallel sentence (but in a discussion of position of adverbs, in another section, he gives 'He not only believes in such books, but he even reads them to his children').⁴² *Whether* . . . *or* he ignores in its correlative function.

Although Curme's text ignores the principle and his examples show no special weight of selection on the conservative side (except, perhaps, for *neither* . . . *nor*), his own usage of the correlatives is quite careful throughout this volume. Typical sentences are:

Besides the pure connectives . . . there are many adverbs which perform not only the function of an adverb but also that of a conjunction.⁴³

Furthermore, question form is often employed where there is no desire either to report indirectly actual questions or to express doubt, uncertainty.⁴⁴

Diligent use has been made of every possible means to secure an accurate, reliable insight into existing conditions in all the different grades of English, both as to the actual fixed usage of today and as to present tendencies.⁴⁵

d) Maetzner⁴⁶ covers the correlatives rather fully, but has no direct discussion of position. He distinguishes, first,

those conjunctions which connect sentences grammatically homogeneous, as conjunctions in the stricter sense, from subordinating conjunctions, which originally connect the subordinate with the principal sentence.⁴⁷

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 310-11.

40. 'Logic and Grammar,' p. 16.

41. George O. Curme, *Syntax (A Grammar of the English Language)*, Vol. III, 1931).

42. *Ibid.*, p. 130. (The position concerning Curme here is that for *even*.) See section 4, d, below for a discussion of this sentence.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

45. *Ibid.*, Preface, p. vii.

46. E. Maetzner, *An English Grammar* (London, 1874).

47. Vol. I, p. 417.

This applies to *both . . . and*, we are told,

where *both* comprehends both members, *although not always standing in a direct relation with them*, and which appear united by *and*.⁴⁸

He cites three early quotations here which are parallel, but his use of 'homogeneous' is not binding since the italicized clause recognizes non-parallel order. Also, at another point, under *both*,⁴⁹ he quotes without comment on position sentences containing both parallel and non-parallel placement. '*Neither . . . nor*,' he says, 'commonly appear in reciprocal relation,' and he quotes six sentences, containing the old *nouther . . . ne*, *nother . . . ne*, *neither . . . ne*, and *nor . . . nor*, all in strictly parallel positions.⁵⁰ In another place he says, 'A reciprocal relation of negations is in modern English chiefly expressed by *neither . . . nor . . .*'⁵¹ and the examples here also are quite parallel. For *either . . . or*, *not only . . . but*, and *whether . . . or* there is also no discussion of position, and examples of both parallel and non-parallel types are cited. In a section in which Maetznner discusses the development of the 'omitted preposition' he quotes the following:

Both of a chieftain and a soldier. (Butl., *Hud.*, 1, 2, 205.)

Some leaves both at the beginning and the end, as well as in the body of the book, are wanting. (Thorpe, *Cod. Exon.*, Pref., p. v.)

This question of 'omission' will be discussed below.

4. Interpretation

a) Mr. Fowler's regulations for *both . . . and* should be first examined. The b) arrangement ('in both India and Australia'), he says, is often shrunk from as a remedy worse than the disease. True. But why, one may ask, should it be classified as sounding formal any more generally than the exacting a) arrangement ('both in India and in Australia')? Each of these at times sounds formal, but neither deserves a general pronouncement of formality any more than the other. In fact, is not the 'formal' expression b) the more natural construction in spoken English? This doubtless stems from the same cause as that of split infinitives in speech: the natural tendency to put emphasis exactly where it appears in the train of thought. It is quite likely, also, that the shrinking that Fowler mentions from *to both*, *in both*, etc., in writing is traceable to the late 18th century prejudice against 'splitting' a preposition from its relating noun. Leonard believed such prejudice did not reflect actual usage in

48. *Ibid.*, p. 418. (Italics mine.—L.M.)

49. *Ibid.*, p. 342.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 419.

51. Vol. III, p. 347.

that period, but it is probable that the crusade against the split infinitive in the following century gave impetus to this earlier pronouncement so that the exactitude of *both in . . . and in* was encouraged. It also seems plausible that the 'wrong' usage of *both in . . . and*—though known before—became also stimulated as a by-product of *both in . . . and in* in the process of normal language economy.⁵²

It is worth noting, too, that in 1779 Robert Baker, while complaining of non-parallelism,

I own it astonishes me that our writers should go on from age to age expressing themselves in this slovenly manner, where there is not one instance in ten of the fault's being committed, where it would not have been easy to avoid it,

still had the awareness to allow,

Sometimes indeed there is no avoiding the impropriety without a stiffness or heaviness of expression. In either of these cases it is to be suffered.⁵³

Again, in Mr. Fowler's last sentence, 'Similarly, "both the Indians and Australians" is common but wrong,' he is harping on a theme of the same period,⁵⁴ and the answer of Withers to the identical tune voiced by the *Oxford Magazine* in 1768 would seem still withering enough to dissipate the proscription from a 20th century handbook:

The Charge of corrupting our Language by the Omission of the 'ARTICLE'—THE—is groundless.

In Fact, the Omission of 'Articles' and 'Definitives' of every Sort, affords Strength and Elegance to Composition. But the frequent Recurrence of WHAT and THAT and WHICH, &c. is inelegant and to be avoided. Excepting on certain Occasions . . . it is not more necessary to use them, than it is to hold a Person by the Coat with one Hand and to point to his Face with the Other, in Order to inform him that he is the Object of your Address, or the Subject of your Discourse.⁵⁵

The puristic R. G. White of the late 19th century also inveighed against the omission of the article:

The error of which this is an example is a common one; *the* is omitted after *either* and *or* from slovenliness or ignorance, and the result is not only slovenly English, but actual confusion, which, in laws, for instance (and most of our laws of late years are drawn up in a very inexact, slipshod way), is productive of serious injury;⁵⁶

yet he totally disregarded the question of the omitted preposition (which is one way of describing the non-parallel 'both in India and Australia'), and we find in his own work:

. . . as there was nothing about English accidence either in the Decalogue or the Common Prayer-Book. . . .⁵⁷

52. See Maetznér's discussion of 'omitted preposition' quoted in part c below.

53. Robert Baker, *Remarks on the English Language*, 2d ed. (London, 1779), p. 106.

54. Sterling Andrus Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

55. Philip Withers, *Aristarchus* (1788), pp. 422-23.

56. *Everyday English* (1881), pp. 411-12.

57. *Words and Their Uses*, rev. ed. (1872), p. 275.

. . . and he found it, as he thought . . . supposing that . . . he had modified the meaning both of the former and the latter.⁵⁸

Similar usage of modern writers will be discussed below.

b) Of special interest is the problem of position with *whether . . . or*. As has been shown above, the consulted sources vary considerably in their treatment of this correlative. Perrin, it will be remembered, was the only handbook author prescribing parallelism for *whether . . . or*, including it among the coordinating conjunctions; Stratton, on the other hand, liberated the expression by putting it in the 'subordinating' class;⁵⁹ and Fowler (!) ignored the question. The grammars and dictionaries, too, either avoided the issue or left their stand uncertain. In addition, it is noteworthy that Leonard, in his treatment of doctrine of the 18th century,⁶⁰ speaks of 'coordinate or correlative conjunctions,' and whether by intent or by chance does not mention *whether . . . or*.

According to the principle expressed by Perrin, the following sentences are examples of inaccurate linkings where one has but one choice for correctness: to repeat the preposition after the *or*.⁶¹

The object of this Handbook is to supply readers and speakers with a lucid, but very brief account of such names as are used in allusions and references, whether by poets or prose writers. . . .⁶²

To thee I have transferred all judgment, whether in heav'n, or earth, or hell.⁶³

The earliest example we have of that language, whether in prose or poetry.⁶⁴

However, it would seem reasonable, in line with discussion in the preceding section, and certainly on the basis of effective sentence rhythm, to accept these sentences as they stand. (Additional support for the construction will be discussed in part c of this section.)

More or less the same comment can be made on the last Kruisinga sentence quoted in section 3 above ('. . . whether because it is a thing or the name of a dead person'). The strictly parallel position ('because it is whether a thing or the name . . .') would be unnatural and the solution would require either the insertion of the missing clause, or repetition of

58. *Ibid.*, p. 338.

59. While 'subordinating' was used by other sources, Stratton was the only one to definitely free *whether . . . or* by its inclusion in that class.

60. *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

61. In sentences containing a particle between the preposition and the noun, the 'solution' often found is repetition of the particle alone, without the preposition, as in the Mencken sentence quoted below, in part c of this section, '. . . whether in its American or its British form. . . .' (This is similar to the usage with *either . . . or* and *both . . . and* in the White sentences just quoted.)

62. E. Cobham Brewer, *Readers' Handbook* (1892), Preface, p. vii.

63. Cited in E. Maetzner, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 354.

64. *Ibid.*

is after *or*—to stand for the clause—or, finally, stretching this reasoning to accept the sentence as it stands.

On the whole, *whether . . . or* seems to allow more ellipsis than the other correlatives, probably because in many cases less emphasis is needed in the second part of the thought, especially in negative sentences; and, as a result, this latter tends to be abbreviated (i.e., 'I haven't decided whether to go or not [to go]' or, further, 'Let me know whether you decide to go [or not to go]'). Probably related to this is the tendency to cut the second verb stem in such sentences as 'I am not certain whether to buy or rent,' which ellipsis seems more at home with *whether . . . or* than with the other correlatives.

c) How far 'misplacement' may be explained as 'omission,' as has been suggested in the previous discussion, is an interesting question. In the following sentence, cited by the *OED*,

Either, Hylas, you are jesting, or have a very bad memory (Berkeley, *Hylas & P.* 1 Wks. 1713 [1871], I, 291),

one could object to the misplaced *either*, stating that it should precede *are* in order to make the correlative positions parallel, or one could hold that the *either* is all right but the *you* has been omitted from the second clause. If the first statement is made, the sentence as it stands is incorrect; if the second is upheld, then the sentence is probably acceptable as it stands, since the verb form leaves no doubt as to the word in ellipsis. If, however, the sentence were to read, 'Hylas, you are either jesting or have a very bad memory,' there would be no explanation other than that the first correlative was misplaced.⁶⁵

One might hold also that in such a sentence as the following, cited by the *Standard Dictionary*,

'Real friendship never hesitates either to give or accept a favor'
(Christian Reid, *Morton House*, Ch. 1, 4),

there is no misplacement of *either* but only an omitted stem-*to*. If one believes this omission to be acceptable, well and good; if not, there is the choice of splitting the infinitive to attain parallelism or of adding the missing *to*. Since the splitting position is often unpopular, even in non-infinitive constructions,⁶⁶ the usual choice would probably be between accepting the construction and adding *to*. Although an omitted verb stem is usually acceptable (ordinarily in sentences not involving correlatives; the above sentence, for instance, would seem quite proper if there were no *either* there—though, as noted in c above, *whether* would take the con-

65. See discussion below in part d of this section.

66. See discussion under a of this section above.

struction gracefully), in this case the omission detracts somewhat from the emphasis of the correlative.

One might also interpret non-parallel correlative placings in the following sentences as omission of prepositions:

Dean Alfred's influence was great, owing both to his prominent position, and the publicity which his detractors gave him.⁶⁷

Even our newspapers, hitherto regarded as models of correct literary style, are many of them following in their wake; and both in matter and phraseology are lending countenance to what at first appears a monstrously crude and almost imbecile jargon. . . .⁶⁸

He therefore proposed that all men of good repute who had worked in the community in whatever line of useful endeavor, whether as machinists, clerks, or bank managers. . . .⁶⁹

In short, the spokesmen for both sides, whether from large states or small, were at bottom after the same result—protection against paper money and similar popular laws.⁷⁰

That is impossible at Oxford; it must be done here, whether in Washington or the University of Texas is immaterial; only let it be done.⁷¹

The defects of English, whether in its American or its British form, are almost too obvious to need rehearsal.⁷²

One disadvantage attaches to the second and third plan: if through error a reference is omitted either in the final draft or the final typing. . . .⁷³

If a subtitle either of the first or the second order is long. . . .⁷⁴

First of all, it should be noticed that thirteen of the thirty eight items, roughly one third, are recorded in reputable literary or colloquial use, either in England or America.⁷⁵

The vulgar in America speak much better than the vulgar in England, for a very obvious reason, *viz.*, that being much more unsettled, and moving frequently from place to place, they are not so liable to local peculiarities either in accent or phraseology.⁷⁶

His animadversions, where original, are, I believe, in almost every case, founded either on caprice, or defective information, or both. . . .⁷⁷

67. Robert C. Pooley, *Grammar and Usage in Textbooks on English* (1933).

68. John S. Farmer, *Americanisms Old and New* (London, 1889), p. vii.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

70. Fred Rodell, *Fifty-five Men* (1936), p. 43.

71. C. W. Ernst, quoted by Sir William Craigie in an article in *S.P.E. Tract XXVII* (1927).

72. H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, 4th ed. (1937), p. 611. In this sentence the rhythm seems best served by the prepositional omission, and it is difficult to judge whether the possessive adjective was repeated consciously or not. Mr. Mencken is most exacting about correlative placement throughout this volume, and one would suppose that if he thought about it at all he probably felt that repetition of the adjective here was enough to indicate the preposition in legitimate ellipsis. Sentences 6 and 7 of course use the same procedure with the preposition and the article.

73. Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Dissertations*, University of Chicago (1937), p. 15.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

75. Albert H. Marckwardt and Fred Walcott, *Facts About Current English Usage* (1938).

76. John Witherspoon in *The Druid*, No. V (May 9, 1781).

77. Fitzedward Hall, quoted in H. L. Mencken, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

Since his invalidity did not assume painful forms nor fetter his work either as man of letters or man of affairs, it may be regarded as fortunate, for it won him dispensations. . . .⁷⁸

The Committee, largely under Morris' direction, came out with a complicated scheme to satisfy both the large and small states, and yet to give the election directly neither to Congress nor the people.⁷⁹

The subjective element has been eliminated as far as was humanly possible, that is except for placing the items into their respective categories, and in performing this task we have attempted to lean neither to right nor left.⁸⁰

And in these as omission of verbs:

Either use the full form or the distinguishing word in the name, as 'the Marquesas' or 'the Orkneys'.⁸¹

Either write 'five, seventeen, and thirty-six' or '5, 17, and 36'.⁸²

The Eskimo children in the school were not only taught sewing and cooking, dress-making and shoe cobbling, gardening and carpentry, but also fishing, fish cleaning and drying.⁸³

In other words, Jespersen is not only preoccupied with his own grammatical system, but with those of other grammarians as well.⁸⁴

And here as omission of phrases:

Yet he observed that some individuals . . . are nevertheless just as mad, and, as the present crisis deepens, getting progressively madder, whether in the direction of escapist fantasy, mouth-foaming hysteria, or catatonic apathy.⁸⁵

Energy, motive force, desire, or striving, either as derived from the sex instinct or from the primal urge to live.⁸⁶

The genius of a language is 'the particular set of ideas which the words . . . either from their formation or multiplicity, are apt to excite in the mind of anyone who hears it properly uttered'.⁸⁷

And of course with *whether* . . . or, as noted above, the non-parallel placing can be interpreted also as a clausal omission.

On this basis, viewing the sentences cited from the dictionaries in section 1 above, we can interpret those sentences as instances of 'omitted' particles—either preposition, verb, or infinitive phrase.

Of the seven Kruisinga sentences quoted in section 3, we can accept all but one: three as prepositional omissions, two as clausal omissions, and

78. John Macy, *The Spirit of American Literature* (1912), p. 19.

79. Fred Rodell, *op. cit.*, p. 161. Here we have the prepositional omission with *neither* . . . *nor* and also the article omission with *both* . . . *and*.

80. Albert H. Marckwardt and Fred Walcott, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

81. Julie Eidesheim, *Editor At Work* (1938), p. 149.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

83. Anne Morrow Lindbergh, *North to the Orient* (1935), p. 87.

84. R. W. Zandvoort in *English Studies*, April, 1941, p. 46.

85. S. I. Hayakawa, *Language in Action* (1941), Introduction, p. x.

86. Webster's, definition of *libido*. Here the repetition of *from* serves for the entire phrase.

87. *Encyclopediæ Britannica*, 1st ed. (1775), article 'Language.'

one as omission of an infinitive phrase. The other (the sixth sentence quoted) is carelessly put together and should not be rationalized.

In the same way, we can defend all but one of the Jespersen sentences quoted, as one case of omitted preposition, one of omitted verb, one of omitted verb and article, and one of omitted stem-*to*; the fifth sentence is clearly a misplacement. The last can be described as a case of a duplicate verb auxiliary, to be discussed in the next part of this section.

With regard to omitted prepositions, Maetzner has a pertinent paragraph:

In the further stylistic development of the tongue the non-repetition of the preposition has obtained great extension. The objects strung to one another are frequently apprehended as a totality; through the proximity of the preceding preposition the repetition, although otherwise natural, often appears partly superfluous, partly ill-sounding; sometimes negligence has an influence and a less correct omission is established by usage. In general the law of distinctness of reference is regarded in the continual operation of the preposition; but the individual license of the narrator sometimes for rhetorical reasons mixes the repetition with the omission of the particle, where the continual operation is not of itself unclear. The succession of objects, without a return of the preposition, manifests both the similarity and the opposition of the members by their being crowded together, and the omission therefore takes place, even with the contraction of members belonging originally to a principal and a dependent sentence, as with *as* and *than*.⁸⁸

While this discussion of Maetzner's obviously is applicable to many types of sentences where correlatives do not appear at all, and while Maetzner presents it independently of the question of correlative placement (which question he practically ignores) this paragraph has a direct bearing on the types of sentences dealt with here.

d) It is interesting to observe that some misplacements may involve not omissions but rather unnecessary duplication of words, as in the following position of *either*:

In the early stages of the language there is no doubt that the use of the forms of words as a grammatical process was much more important than the grammatical uses of either word order or of function words.⁸⁹

The requirement of accuracy here, of course, is either to transpose the first *of* and the *either* or to omit the second *of*. The same might be said of the *not only* and *with* in the following:

We are furthermore still animals with not only an animal body, but with an animal mind.⁹⁰

Further, an example of unnecessary duplication of subject is found in the sentence from Curme quoted above, 'He not only believes in such books,

88. E. Maetzner, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 491-92.

89. Charles Carpenter Fries, *American English Grammar* (1940), p. 10.

90. James Harvey Robinson, *The Mind in the Making* (1921), p. 68.

but he even reads them to his children.' Before correction for accuracy in such sentences, one would naturally wish to decide whether the existing forms or the correct ones would be more effective in context; and here, as in other cases, personal preference might well rule in either direction.

The same type of duplication is quite common with verbs. In the second sentence of Perrin's which was quoted in section 1, a, for instance ('... the writer ... will not only catch unhappy phrases and sentences but will see more ...'), the ideal of parallelism would call for '... not only will catch ... but will see ...' or '... will not only catch ... but see, ...' The first of these correct forms tends to be self-conscious, and will be discussed below. The second form does away with the 'unnecessary' second *will*; and one might ask whether it is not justifiable to accept the original version as a case of duplication, which though theoretically unnecessary is a means of emphasis and in no way obscures the meaning.

Just so, in the following sentence,

His Dictionary of Modern English Usage is not only authoritative, but is fine reading.⁹¹ we have non-parallelism, it is true, but correction to the accurate '... not only is authoritative but is fine reading' seems strained; and omission of the second *is* disrupts the rhythm. The same might be said of the following sentences of White and Pooley:

The need is particularly great in this country; of which fact I have not only set forth the reasons, but have endeavored to explain them with such detail as would enable my readers to see them for themselves. . . .⁹²

It is granted at the outset of this discussion that the misrelated participle or gerund frequently produces an effect distressing to the orderly mind; the meaning is not only distorted but is sometimes rendered utterly ludicrous.⁹³

In many sentences, however, the verb forms differ completely, and this order would give more pronounced inaccuracy, as in the transposition sentence suggested above, 'Hylas, you are either jesting or have a very bad memory'; and as it does also in the following sentence, where only the verb auxiliaries differ:

Sometimes a writer runs on in a specious verbosity, amusing his reader with synonymous terms and identical propositions, well turned periods, and high sounding words; but at the same time using these words so indefinitely that the reader can either affix no meaning at all to them, or may affix almost any meaning he pleases.⁹⁴

In this latter the accurate placing would obviously be '... either can ...

91. Julie Eidesheim, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

92. R. G. White, *Words and Their Uses*, Preface, p. iv.

93. Robert C. Pooley, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

94. Lindley Murray, quoted by J. M. Wattie, *The Grammarian and His Material* (1930), p. 7.

or may. . . .' Compare this with the Perrin sentence under discussion. Must one be consistent and apply the same rule there that is required here? It would seem that in cases where the verbs or verb auxiliaries are identical in both parts of the correlative idea there needs to be more flexibility than the strict ideal allows.

In the third Perrin sentence ('Metonymy is not only a common figure of speech . . . but it is one way in which the meanings of words change. . . .') we have, in addition to the verbal repetition, a second subject. It will be recalled that the duplicate subject discussed above occurred in that instance with verbs in parallel positions. To accept the present type of construction therefore means to accept the combination of duplicating verb and duplicating subject in the same sentence. This does not seem unreasonable, especially in long sentences.

In the first Perrin sentence, '. . . contributing to literary criticism and the art of conversation, where language is not only described, but its effectiveness must be considered . . . ' we have the same non-parallelism with a second subject and second verb, but it is more pronounced: both the verbs and subjects differ completely, and there is less choice in order. One would suggest '. . . where not only is language described, but its effectiveness must be considered. . . .'

Of this type the next two examples are worth looking at:

These, attempting to base their generalizations and statements upon actual studies of the usage, attack not only those subordinate rules upon which the conservatives themselves are at variance, but some would overturn even the first general rule for *shall* and *will* upon which the former all agree.⁹⁵

As indicated on page 988 above these instances of *shall* and *will* (about 20,000 in all) were not only subjected to a statistical study but in each case the context in which the *shall* or the *will* occurred was scrutinized. . . .⁹⁶

Any attempt to 'correct' the first of these would clearly be disruptive; and although the other could be tampered with more easily, the shift to '. . . not only were these instances . . . but in each case . . . ' is a formalizing influence and seems hardly worth the effort. Many sentences, it is clear, have personalities of their own, and must be treated accordingly.⁹⁷

Observe that with *not only* one commonly finds the double-verb double-subject situation with the *but* not expressed; that the punctuation between the two clauses in such instances, though usually a semi-colon, may often be a comma or period.

95. Charles Carpenter Fries, 'The Periphrastic Future with *Shall* and *Will* in Modern English,' *P.M.L.A.*, XL (1925), p. 964.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 1017.

97. See the statement of Robert Baker about such sentences quoted on p. 180.

It appears then plainly that speaker and hearer must not only have in mind the same idea; they must also build them together by the same plan.⁹⁸

The new Republic would not only produce a civilization and a literature of its own; it would show the way for all other civilizations and literatures.⁹⁹

Thus the merely negative concept of liberty is not only useless, it is also actively dangerous.¹⁰⁰

The nation has not only grown in size since 1787. It has also grown a lot closer to democracy.¹⁰¹

5. Conclusion

1. There is no thorough agreement on the principle of 'logical' position for correlatives as a class. Indeed, there is some variation in the use of terms. Such words as 'coordinating,' 'subordinating,' 'correlative,' and 'parallel' have different limits of meaning to individual authorities.¹⁰²

a) Among the dictionaries the most complete agreement on traditional parallelism is found for *both . . . and*, yet even for this there is a leak—in the *OED*, where a non-parallel quotation is found among those supporting its conservative text. For *either . . . or* the *Century Dictionary* respects the principle; Webster's states the principle but violates it in practice; and the *OED* cites practice of conforming and non-conforming types without comment. On *neither . . . nor* Webster's conforms; *OED* notes the regular position of *neither* as preceding the first of the alternative expressions, but remarks that it is frequently placed earlier in the sentence; the *Century* cites without comment practice of both types. For *whether . . . or* there is no discussion of position, but *OED* cites a number of strictly parallel sentences and but one mildly non-parallel¹⁰³ one; Webster's cites the mildly non-parallel 'whether by hook or crook'; the *Century* cites without comment seven parallel sentences and one mildly non-parallel one. For *not only . . . but* there is no discussion in any of the dictionaries, but *OED* quotes four parallel and three non-parallel sentences.

b) As for the handbooks, all but Fowler deal with the problem as one of correlatives in general, and all are irregular in their treatment of the individual correlatives under separate listing. Fowler is most meticulously concerned with accurate position for *both . . . and*, and in his strictures is

98. Edward T. Owen, 'The Meaning and Function of Thought Connectives,' *Transactions, Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XII (1898), p. 7.

99. H. L. Mencken, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

100. George Soule, *The Future of Liberty* (1936), p. 25.

101. Fred Rodell, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

102. Moreover, Leonard oddly separates the question of parallelism with 'coordinate or correlative conjunctions' from that found in such expressions as 'both by sea and by land.' To this reader, at least, his distinction is not clear—particularly since in his discussion of the latter phrase he cites several sentences which involve correlatives: one *not only . . . but*, and one *either . . . or*, as well as one *both . . . and* used with *of*.

103. Involving 'omitted preposition.'

reflecting prejudices born over 150 years ago, some having refutations just as old. Perrin echoes the same pronouncements, but his own writing is disrespectful of them. Stratton restates the rule, but puts *whether . . . or* outside its control. Perrin includes *whether . . . or* in the group to be regulated, while Fowler ignores the expression for this purpose.

c) Of the grammarians, Jespersen offers no treatment of correlatives, and is fairly generous with 'inaccuracies' in his own usage. Kruisinga is open-minded in the matter, dealing with correlatives without discussion of position, and freely using non-parallelism himself. Although Curme neglects the question of parallelism and his examples contain both parallel and non-parallel sentences without any apparent preference, there is a slight overbalance on the parallel side, and his own usage is definitely 'pure.' Maetzner has no direct discussion of placement for the correlatives, but he mentions that *both* is 'not always standing in direct relation' with the members it 'comprehends.' His discussion of the omitted preposition, presented quite independently of the problem, provides elements of support for a common type of non-parallelism.

2. Departure from logical position seems justified in certain cases:

a) Where the inaccuracy may be interpreted as ellipsis of a word or words which are obvious from the context. This ellipsis is most commonly applicable to articles and prepositions. It also seems applicable to the infinitive *to* and to verbs, phrases, and clauses. It is particularly pertinent to sentences involving *whether . . . or*.

The 'omitted preposition' type (which, like the conservative forms, has a long history) has probably been stimulated as a derivative from that conservative placement of the correlatives which avoids 'splitting' the first preposition from its noun, in accordance with prejudice of the late 18th century; that prejudice itself, moreover, having been uninfluential at first, probably received reflex support from the movement against the split infinitive in the following century.

E.g.: I shall be able to visit in both America and England.

to

I shall be able to visit both in America and in England.

to

I shall be able to visit both in America and England.

A practice often effective as a compromise between strict parallelism and free 'omission' is that usable in sentences containing a particle or particles between the preposition and noun. There the intervening element alone may be repeated, without the preposition.

E.g.: A possession neither of the assistant nor the manager.

Whether in her workday habit or her evening dress.

b) Where the inaccuracy may be interpreted as duplicating, or extra, word or words. This may apply to:

1) Prepositions.

E.g.: They are good people, with not only believing hearts, but with active, creative minds.

2) Verb auxiliaries where the verb forms used in both sections of the correlative idea are identical.

E.g.: The writer is not only a writer but is an artist as well.

He will not only visit us, but will visit Helen too.

(In fact, in such sentences the 'inaccuracy' often seems preferable to the possible 'correct' arrangements.)

3) Verb auxiliaries where the verb stems are different but the auxiliaries are identical.

E.g.: He will either stay here or will go back to town.

4) Pronouns, 'duplicating' the first subject, used with the second verb when this is either parallel with the first verb or in positions described in 2) and 3). (Such practice is probably more pertinent to *not only . . . but* than the other expressions.)

E.g.: He not only reads all your books, but he recommends them to everyone.

He is not only reading to himself for educational purposes, but he is reading to all who will hear.

He will not only send you a copy, but he will see that it goes to you air mail.

Instances of 4) are sometimes found with *not only* when the *but* is not expressed, and there the two halves of the expression are usually divided by a semi-colon, but often by a comma or period.

E.g.: Rudy not only is awaiting the event, he is awaiting it eagerly.

Rudy is not only awaiting the event; he is awaiting it eagerly.

Rudy is not only awaiting the event, he is anticipating it with impatience.

You will not only be blamed. You will be punished.

c) Where 'correctness' would make the sentence awkward or otherwise detract from its effectiveness in context.

These 'permissions' of non-parallelism are obviously not offered as new rules. They represent a reasonably conservative balance—by one reasonably conservative observer—of expert opinion and usage in this matter, which may be of some value as a guide for well-written English until the present confusion among authorities may be dispelled (and, of course, until usage may change). It is recognized that each correlative expression

has had its own peculiar development and that generalizations can not be made to apply for each expression at all times. An attempt has been made, however, to present an over-all pattern that may be fused with personal judgment.

It should perhaps be emphasized that the viewpoint throughout has been that of written English. Although Sweet has pointed out,

It is important to observe that the literary language is always colloquial in origin; all literary forms which differ from the contemporary spoken language are really fossilized colloquialisms of an earlier period. . . . Literary languages are therefore to some extent anachronisms, being a mixture of the contemporary spoken language with the spoken language of earlier periods. For this reason the study of a language should always be based—as far as possible—on the spoken language of the period which is being dealt with.¹⁰⁴

studies which do base themselves on the spoken language are always thereby considerably ahead of the contemporary literature, and are not of much practical value to the writer or editor who must work within the restrictions of the cultural lag.

It will be remembered that Pooley vigorously indicted the school textbooks for their strict rules regarding correlatives, among other things, but that he supported his attack with the following statement:

The textbooks . . . rely almost exclusively upon writing as 'the language.' Their examples and illustrations of good English are all literary, drawn from books; their strictures against faulty English are very largely directed toward the correct and commonly used idioms of speech. *If they were used exclusively as manuals of writing, this criticism would not be valid, but they are regularly used in the classroom for correctness in all English, spoken or written, without distinction.*¹⁰⁵

104. Henry Sweet, *A New English Grammar*, Vol. I (1900), p. 203.

105. *Op. cit.* (Italics mine.—L.M.)

THE VOCABULARY OF MELANESIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH

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PREVIOUS writers on Melanesian Pidgin English¹ have expressed the opinion that its vocabulary was very limited, containing only a few hundred words,² and (by implication, at least) inadequate for use in all but the most elementary of social contacts. As my investigations have proven this notion to be wholly inaccurate, it is my purpose in this article to discuss the vocabulary of Melanesian Pidgin from two points of view, its extent and its composition, and then to discuss its general characteristics, giving a representative example of Pidgin terminology in a specific semantic sphere.

The vocabulary of Pidgin is fully adequate for all the needs of its speakers, not only for minimum communication and trade requirements, but for all the needs of everyday life.³ The number of separate words in the basic vocabulary of the language is approximately one thousand;⁴ the vocabulary can be extended without limit by the processes of compounding and phrase-formation. Often, both a word or phrase formed

1. The communication and trade jargon or 'minimum' language, based on English, used between white men and natives, and among natives who have no other language in common, in Melanesia: New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago and neighboring island groups, and the Solomon Islands; hereinafter referred to as Pidgin.

The transcription used in this article is a slight modification (because of typographical requirements) of the phonemic transcription used by the author in his monograph: *Melanesian Pidgin English: Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary* (Baltimore, 1943). Except where otherwise indicated, the symbols have the value assigned to them in the IPA alphabet. There are eleven vowel phonemes: *i*, *ɪ* [i], *e*, *ɛ* [e], *æ*, *a*, *ɑ* [ʌ, ə], *ɔ* [ɔ], *o*, *ʊ* [u], and *u*; and twenty consonant phonemes: *j*, *w* (semi-vowels); *p*, *t*, *k*; *b*, *d*, *g*; *m*, *n*, *ŋ* [ŋ]; *l*, *r*, *s*; *f*, *v*; *ʃ* [ʃ], *č* [tʃ], *ǰ* [dʒ]; *h*. English speakers of Pidgin normally pronounce these phonemes as they do in their native dialects. Melanesian speakers normally do not use the last-mentioned six phonemes in the above list, replacing *f* and *v* with *p* and *b* or [ɸ] and [β], *ʃ* and *č* with *s*, *ǰ* with *s* or *č*, and omitting *h*; they usually simplify all consonant clusters except nasal + homorganic plosive, by omitting the first consonant (in groups of *r* + consonant), or by intercalating an unaccented vowel, which varies regionally from [ə] or [a] to [i]. All words are accented on the first syllable.

The work on which this article is based has been done in connection with the Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies.

2. So W. Churchill, *Beach-la-Mar: the Jargon or Trade Speech of the Western Pacific*, Washington, 1911; A. B. Lewis, *Ethnology of Melanesia*, Chicago, 1932, p. 36.

3. Cf. Margaret Mead, 'Talk-Boy,' *Asia*, 31: 144-51, 191 (1931).

4. It is not possible to give an absolute figure for the number of words in the vocabulary of Pidgin, because, in addition to a certain amount of regional variation, there exists the possibility of limitless borrowing into the language from any source; all that is needed to introduce a new word is an agreement reached (explicitly or implicitly) between any two speakers as to its use. One missionary is said (by my informant Dr. Margaret Mead) to have collected eleven thousand words.

within Pidgin itself and a term borrowed directly from English or some other source may exist concurrently: thus, 'pocket' is either *bæg trawsis* 'a bag for trousers' or *pökēt*; 'brown' is either *ölsem grawn* 'like earth' or *brawnfélä*; 'knee' is either *skru bilöŋ lëg* 'leg-joint' or *ni*. In this way, any object or action may be designated by means of the resources of Pidgin or by loan-words.

In the table are given approximate percentages of the various elements among the individual words in the thousand comprising the basic vocabulary of Pidgin, classified according to their origin. In the following paragraphs, I shall give examples of the various categories of words, together with the etyma of the examples (in parentheses).⁵

COMPOSITION OF THE VOCABULARY OF MELANESIAN PIDGIN

Type	Percentage	
I. Words of Non-English Origin		
A. Non-European	10	
B. German	1	
C. Romance and Other Sources	1	
		12
II. Words of English Origin		
A. Standard English		
i. With no change in meaning or function	60	
ii. Formed by fusion of two or more English words	4	
iii. With change of function	3	
iv. With change of meaning	7	
		74
B. Non-Standard English		
i. Provincial or Obsolete	1	
ii. Substandard or Slang	2	
		3
		77
III. Words Formed by Compounding in Pidgin		11
		100

I. Words of Non-English Origin:

A. Non-European: *abus* n. 'meat'; *balus* n. 'bird'; *bīnatan* n. 'insect (in general), beetle'; *buk* n. 'carbuncle, swelling; knot'; *būŋ* n. (also *būm*) 'assembly'; *diwaj* n. 'tree, wood'; *gæramüt* n. 'slit gong'; *guria* n. 'trembling, earthquake', vb. 'to tremble'; *kiap* n. 'government official'; *kina* n. 'kind of mussel'; *klambu* n. 'mosquito net'; *krani* n. 'Malay trader'; *kru*

5. Except in the case of words whose English etymon is identical with the standard English gloss, and of words from Melanesian, Polynesian, or Far Eastern languages. The writer has not conducted any extensive investigations into the origin of the latter class of words; some discussion may be found in G. Landtman, 'The Pidgin English of British New Guinea,' *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 19: 62-74 (1918); H. Nevermann, 'Das melanesische Pidgin-Englisch,' *Englische Studien*, 63: 252-68 (1929).

n. 'sprout, head'; *kumül* n. 'bird of paradise'; *kunaj* n. 'grass-land'; *kundu* n. 'drum'; *læpun* n. 'old person'; *lilimbüt* (also *lilimbü[r]*) n. 'vacation, rest'; *lolo* n. 'Malay-apple tree'; *lotu* n. 'religion'; *luluwaj* n. 'village official'; *malolo* n. 'rest'; *marsalaj* n. 'spirit'; *maski* adv. 'for all I care; rather'; *maw* adj. 'ripe and soft'; *pamök* n. 'whore'; *pípia* n. 'rubbish'; *tawnam* n. 'mosquito-net'; *tambaræn* n. 'spirit of ancestors'; *tumbüna* n. 'ancestor,' and many others.

A special sub-class of this type of word is formed by words showing reduplication, a process which, although it is not of grammatical significance in Pidgin, is apparently widespread in the languages from which Pidgin has borrowed. Some of these words are clearly of onomatopoeic origin: *bümbüm* n. 'torch (of dried coconut fronds)'; *küsküs* n. 'clerk'; *kajkaj* n. 'food', vb. 'to eat, consume'; *læplæp* n. 'loincloth'; *lõnlõn* adj. 'crazy'; *mëmë* n. 'goat'; *pëkpëk* n. 'excrement,' vb. 'to excrete'; *pítpít* n. 'wild sugar-cane'; *saksak* n. 'sago'; *susu* n. '(woman's) breast; milk'; *tultul* n. 'interpreter.'

B. German: *blajstik* n. 'pencil' (Bleistift); *blüt* n. 'blood' (Blut); *brüs* n. 'chest' (Brust); *kinin* n. 'quinine' (Kinin); *laŋsam* adj. 'slow' (langsam); *liŋks* adv. 'left' (links); *mark* n. 'shilling' (Mark); *raws* vb. 'to leave, expel' ('raus!); *ros* n. 'rust' (Rost); *rüksæk* n. 'rucksack' (Rucksack); *silük* n. 'whirlpool' (Schluck); *surükim* vb. 'to draw back' (zurück); *tabak* n. 'tobacco' (Tabak).

Some words which may be from English etyma show at least the influence of German cognates in the pronunciation of part of the word: *jar* n. 'year' (× Jahr?); *kokonüs* n. 'coconut' (× Nuss?); *sükär* n. 'sugar' (× Zucker?).

One or two phrases are clearly loan-translations of German expressions: *rod ajän* n-phr. 'railway' (Eisenbahn); *gat rön* vb-phr. 'be wrong' (Unrecht haben).

C. Romance and Other Sources. Only three words are clearly of Romance origin: *pato* n. 'duck' (Span., Port. *pato*); *pikini* n. 'child; fruit (of a tree)' (Port. *pequenino* 'small'); *sævi* vb. 'to know' (Span., Port., Prov. *saber*).⁶

Of uncertain origin are: *küs* n., vb. '(to) cough'; *liklik* adj. 'small'; *meri* n. 'woman, wife';⁷ *trawsël* n. 'tortoise.'

6. The word *sævi* and its cognates seem to have reached the widest extension of any word in the various jargons of modern linguistic history; cf. the name *sabir* given to the Mediterranean lingua franca based on Provençal.

7. Usually etymologized as being derived from the English proper name *Mary*, and usually written *mary* in transcriptions in standard English orthography—an etymology for which proof is, naturally, lacking. It is more likely that the word *meri* is borrowed from some native language—but which?

II. Words of English Origin:

A. Standard English, i.e. words corresponding to etyma in standard British or American English:

i. With no change in meaning or function.⁸ As the majority of words in the basic vocabulary of Pidgin are of this type, a few examples will suffice: *dor* n. 'door'; *haws* n. 'house'; *hæn* n. 'hand'; *mæn* n. 'man'; *ræn* vb. 'to run'; *rænwe* vb. 'to run away'; *sel* n., vb. '(to) sail'; *selär* n. 'sailor'; *tebäl* n. 'table'; *wîn* n. 'wind,' etc. A few English words have been taken into Pidgin in reduplicated form, although without change in function or meaning: *lülük* vb. 'to look'; *pispis* vb. 'to urinate'; *püşpüş* n., vb. '(to have) sexual intercourse'; *šipšip* n. 'sheep'; *töktök* vb., n. '(to) talk'; *wašwaš* vb. 'to wash'; *wilwil* n. 'wheel.'

ii. Formed by fusion of two or more English words:⁹ *bajmbaj* adv. 'soon' (indicates future tense with verbs) (by and by); *bonæra* n. 'bow' (bow and arrow); *boskru* n. 'boat's crew, sailor'; *bülmäkaw* n. 'bovine animal' (bull-ma-cow¹⁰); *dawmbilo* adv. 'down' (down below); *husæt?* interr. pron. 'who?' (who's that?); *lēgoim* vb. 'release, let go'; *lilibit* adj. 'small' (little bit); *näbič* n. 'beach' (on the beach); *nogat* minor-clause form 'no' (no got); *ölsem* adv. 'thus,' prep. 'like' (all the same); *sæmbaj* vb. 'stand by, lie in ambush'; *sölwatär* n. 'ocean' (salt water); *šekæn* vb. 'shake hands; greet; make peace'; *tæsöl* adv. 'only' (that's all); *tudark* n. 'dark(ness)' (too dark); *tudir* adj. 'expensive' (too dear); *tumäch* adv. 'very' (too much); *wöför?* interr. adv. 'why?' (what for?); *wönem?* interr. adj., adv. 'of what kind? why?' (what name?), and many others.

iii. With change of function:

1. Nouns: Singular¹¹ < Plural: *ænīs* 'ant' (ants); *bresīs* 'suspenders' (braces); *hæčīs* 'hatch(way) (of a ship)' (hatches); *mæčīs* 'box of matches, match' (matches); *sīsīs* 'pair of scissors' (scissors); *tit* (beside *tus*) 'tooth' (teeth); *trawsīs* 'pair of trousers' (trousers).

2. Pronouns: General Case¹² < Accusative: *ēm* (also *īm*) 3. pers. pron. 'he, him, she, her, it; they, them' (him); *mī* 1. pers. pron. 'I, me.'

3. Pronoun < Adjective: *öl* 'all; they.'

8. No account has been taken here of phonetic variation, as in *bænīs* 'fence' or *maws* 'mouth,' which constitutes a separate historical problem.

9. The categories here established are, of course, to a certain extent overlapping, and some words listed under one class might also be listed in another; e.g. *näbič* n. 'beach' (< 'on the beach) shows both fusion and shift of function.

10. The element *-ma-* is usually explained as a conjunction borrowed from some native language; thus Nevermann, *op. cit.*

11. As nouns in Pidgin have no morphological signs of singular or plural number, all the forms given here may be used as either singular or plural: thus *wänfělä tit* 'one tooth,' *tufělä tus* 'two teeth,' etc.

12. There is no morphological distinction of case in Pidgin.

4. Adjective < Noun: *rābiš* 'worthless, without money or standing in the community' (rubbish).

5. Verb < Adjective: *fredim* 'to fear' ('fraid); *fūlāp* 'to be full' (full up); *mæritim* 'to marry' (married).

6. Verb < Adverb: *ovārīm* 'turn over, upset' (over).

7. Adverb < Noun: *nātiṇ* 'just, only; gratis' (nothing).

8. Adverb < Adjective or Adjectival Phrase: *nogūd* 'with undesirable results; don't' (no good); *tru* 'really' (true).

9. Adverb < Verb or Verbal Phrase: *ajtiṅk* 'probably' (I think); *fīniš* 'already' [indicates perfective aspect with verbs] (finish); *spos* 'hypothetically' (suppose).

10. Adverb < Minor-Clause Form: *no* 'not' (no).

11. Minor-Clause Form < Adjectival Phrase: *ōrajt* 'very well' (all right).

12. Preposition < Verb: *bīlōṇ* 'of, for' (belong).

13. Conjunction < Noun: *tajm* 'when' (time).

14. Bound Form < Noun: *-fēlā* adj. and pron. suffix¹³ (fellow).

15. Bound Form < Pronoun: *-īm* (also *-ēm*) transitive vb. suffix (him).

16. Bound Form < Adverb: *-awt* 'out,' *-āp* 'up,' *-we* 'away' vb. suffixes.

iv. With change of meaning (mostly extension): *aj* n. 'eye; hole; point'; *bænīs* n. 'fence; part of a village; sib; totemic group'; *bēl* n. 'belly; stomach; emotions; mind'; *bīhajṇ* adv. 'later; afterwards; following'; *bōj* n. 'native, non-European male laborer' (boy); *brādār* n. 'brother; sibling of opposite sex; something similar to . . .'; *brokīm* vb. 'to break; tear; cross (a river, etc.)'; *daj* vb. 'to die; be ill; cease; disappear'; *fajtīm* vb. 'to fight; beat; strike'; *fæs* adv. 'fast, firm,' vb. 'to prevent from moving (tie, hinder, etc.)'; *fes* n. 'face; anger'; *gras* n. 'grass; hair'; *gris* n. 'grease; flattery'; *hāmbāg* vb. 'to fail in one's duty; footle around'; *hæf* n. (also *haf*) 'half; piece; place; room; direction'; *hēlpīm* vb. 'to help; replace; change'; *hirīm* vb. (also *harīm*) 'hear; feel; understand; find out; obey'; *kīčīm* (also *kāčīm*, *kēčīm*) vb. 'get, take, obtain' (catch); *krīsmās* n. 'any celebration, especially of white men; year' (Christmas); *kartīm* vb. 'to carry, bring' (cart); *kāpsajšīm* vb. 'to pour' (capsize); *lajk* vb. 'to like, want, be willing to; be about to, ready to; almost'; *lōṇ* prep. 'in, on, to, from, with, by, in connection with, on account of, because of' (along); *lusīm* vb. 'to leave, let go of, lose, leave behind, pass, desert, abandon, forget'; *māṇki* n. 'monkey; boy'; *pōjsāṇ* n. 'black magic, sorcery' (poison); *sækīm* vb.

13. This suffix is devoid of meaning when attached to adjectives, and serves purely as a determinant of morphological category; it is used with monosyllabic adjective stems (*gūdfēlā* 'good,' *bigfēlā* 'big,' *rawnfēlā* 'round,' etc.) and with certain types of polysyllabic adjectives, mostly quantitative (e.g. *plēntifēlā* 'many'). When added to the pronouns *mi* 'I, me' and *ju* 'you (sg.)' it forms exclusive plurals: *mifēlā* 'we, us'; *jufēlā* 'you (pl.).'

'put, push into a sack; push against; oppose' (sack); *sělim* vb. 'send; tell, command' (sell); *sămtiŋ* n. 'thing' (something); *skĩn* n. 'skin; outside of anything; body'; *slipĩm* vb. 'lay down, fell' (sleep); *sōspæn* n. 'utensil (of any kind)' (saucepan); *stap* vb. 'stay, remain; continue; be (continually, always); live' (stop); *wokĩm* vb. 'to make; build' (work), and a great many others.

Some of the words given above had undoubtedly come to their extended meaning (as compared with their meaning in Standard English) before being borrowed into Pidgin, as in the case of *gris* 'flattery' and *măŋki* 'boy' and other terms from seamen's usage.¹⁴

B. Non-Standard English:

i. Provincial or Obsolete, mostly of Australian origin: *bũš* n. 'bush; forest; backwoods'; *čikărăpĩm* vb. 'to scrape';¹⁵ *kōki* n. 'cockatoo'; *opĩm* vb. 'to open'; *stešăn* n. 'post; farm'; *tamiōk* n. 'axe.'

ii. Substandard or Slang: *băstărd* n. used as curse-word; *băgăr* n. used as curse-word; *dămbăstărd!* minor-clause form, interjection of anger, etc.; *făkim* vb. 'to have sexual intercourse with'; *gămăn* n. 'falsity, deception'; *kōk* n. 'penis'; *kōkėru* n. 'rooster; clitoris'; *kūki* n. 'cook'; *kănt* n. 'female genitals'; *kălăbus* n. 'prison(er)'; *le* vb. 'lie'; *lesibăgăr* n-cpd. used as curse-word; *lōkăp* n. 'prison,' vb. 'to imprison'; *swajŋ* (*ju*)! minor-clause form, interjection of anger etc.; *šărăpĩm* 'to shut up ([cause to] be silent).'

Some words of substandard origin have not only lost their unfavorable connotation, but have been extended considerably in meaning: *ars* n. 'buttocks; bottom, base, foundation (of anything); beginning, cause'; *băgărĩmăpĩm* vb. 'to impede (anything) in its functioning, "put on the fritz," spoil, ruin'; *šit* n. 'excrement; remainder (of anything)' [usually used in transferred meaning].

III. Words Formed by Compounding in Pidgin are a theoretically limitless class. The following few may serve as samples of the kind of words attested: *bighėd* adj-cpd. 'conceited'; *bigmaws* adj-cpd. 'insolent'; *bigrod* n-cpd. 'high-road'; *bōsbōj* n-cpd. 'native overseer'; *dissajd* adv-cpd. 'on this side'; *drajbon* n-cpd. 'courageous person; tough guy'; *ădărwe* adv-cpd. 'another way'; *finištajm* n-cpd. 'one who has finished his time (of indentured service)'; *frajpæn* n-cpd. 'frying-pan'; *hardwok* vb-cpd. 'to work hard'; *kikkbōl* n-cpd. 'football'; *kūkbōj* n-cpd. 'native cook'; *lüksəvi* vb-cpd. 'to recognize' (*lūk* 'to look' + *səvi* 'to know'); *optĩn* n-cpd. 'can-opener'; *stirmæn* n-cpd. 'helmsman'; *šutlămp* n-cpd. 'flashlight,' etc.

The vocabulary of Melanesian Pidgin reflects, as is to be expected, the social conditions under which it was developed, its purpose, and its use.

14. As was pointed out to me by Professor Harcourt Brown.

15. This form (beside *skrepĩm* 'to scrape') is attested in several texts furnished by Miss Phyllis M. Kaberry.

As a 'minimum' language, developed at first in connection with the slave trade and continued in commerce and exploitation under the direction of Europeans, Pidgin was based on the usage of sub-standard speakers of English, such as sailors, 'blackbirders' (slave traders), coastal traders, and the like. Of this connection, the terms mentioned in section II.B.ii are evidence. Later comers, including missionaries, have found the basic Pidgin vocabulary so firmly implanted that they have in general been obliged to adopt it as such, rather than to replace it with something closer to standard English.¹⁶

But with the development of Pidgin into the general communication language of the whole area, the Melanesians¹⁷ have become the chief speakers of Pidgin. As a result, they have taken the meager fundamentals of grammar and vocabulary afforded by the basic structure of the language, and have developed them in accordance with their own linguistic habits.¹⁸ In extending the vocabulary to meet their own needs, the Melanesians have created new compounds such as those cited in section III above, and a wealth of new phrases. As examples of the latter we may cite: *skru bilōŋ lēg* n-phr. 'knee'; *gras bilōŋ hēd* n-phr. 'hair'; *haws lotu* n-phr. 'temple, church'; *haws tēmbārēn* n-phr. 'men's ceremonial house'; *haws pepār* n-phr. 'office'; *gat savi* vb-phr. 'be wise'; *pēkpēk nogūd ōlsem watār* n-phr. 'diarrhea'; *pāmpīm ars bilōŋ mēn* vb-phr. 'to give an enema'; *(tajm) sän i-kāmāp* n-phr. 'sunrise'; *(tajm) sän i-go dawn* n-phr. 'sunset'; *šit bilōŋ fajr* n-phr. 'ashes,' etc. On the one hand, these and similar phrases seem to us to be very childish and naïve in their approach; on the other hand, they seem to show an imaginative approach to reality and a fresh analysis of experience that has been lost, to a certain extent, by speakers with a more extensive linguistic and cultural background.

As may be seen from the examples given so far, all semantic spheres with which speakers of Pidgin come in contact are covered: terms for the parts and functions of the human body, social life and intercourse, economic activity, contact with European civilization, local fauna and flora, etc. Words of English and non-English origin are present in all of these spheres; those of non-English origin predominate, naturally, in the

16. There have been, of course, various types of specialized vocabularies developed by missionaries (e.g. *angelo* 'angel'; *Ridimār* 'Redeemer'; *sol* 'soul,' etc.) and by government agencies and schools (e.g. *pej* 'page'; *slet* 'slate,' etc.), but these terms have not spread beyond the confines of the mission, the office, or the school.

17. The term 'Melanesian' is here used to cover all non-European speakers of Melanesian Pidgin, natives of Melanesia, whether their native speech be 'Melanesian' or 'Papuan' in linguistic classification.

18. In the field of grammar, cf. such features as the inclusive 1. pers. plur. pronoun *jumi* 'you and I'; the enumerative pronominal phrases such as *mī tufēlā* 'the two of us,' *ju trifēlā* 'the three of you,' etc., formed with numerals from *wānfēlā* to *fajufēlā*; the absence of number in nouns and verbs, of mood, tense, and number in verbs, etc.

spheres most directly related to native life and social organization, and to local environment. The following list (a complete enumeration, as far as permitted by the material at the writer's disposal) of terms for the parts of the body in Pidgin, is intended to give an idea of the manner and proportion in which words of different origins, new compounds, and phrases are to be found in a representative semantic group:

THE PARTS OF THE BODY IN MELANESIAN PIDGIN

body, skin: <i>skĩn</i>	finger: <i>fĩngǎr</i>
bone: <i>bon</i>	finger-nail: <i>kapǎr bilǒŋ fĩngǎr</i> (‘finger-metal’)
artery, vein: <i>rop i-gat blūt</i>	knuckle: <i>skru bilǒŋ fĩngǎr</i>
head: <i>hěd, kru</i> (literal meaning ‘sprout’)	elbow: <i>skru bilǒŋ arm</i>
face: <i>fes</i>	chest: <i>brūs</i>
eye: <i>aj</i>	breast (woman’s): <i>susu</i>
ear: <i>ir</i>	heart: <i>klak, hart</i> (rare)
nose: <i>nos</i>	stomach, abdomen: <i>běł</i>
mouth: <i>maws</i>	buttocks: <i>ars</i>
cheek: <i>čik</i>	penis: <i>kők</i>
tongue: <i>tǎŋ</i>	testicle(s): <i>bǒł</i>
tooth: <i>tus, tit</i>	prepuce: <i>lǎplǎp bilǒŋ kők</i>
lip: <i>lip, maws</i>	genitals, female: <i>kǎnt, šem bilǒŋ</i> <i>meri</i>
hair: <i>gras bilǒŋ hěd</i>	clitoris: <i>kőkěru</i>
mustache: <i>gras bilǒŋ maws</i>	leg: <i>lēg (leg), fūt</i>
beard: <i>gras bilǒŋ fes</i> (or <i>bilǒŋ</i> <i>maws</i>)	knee: <i>skru bilǒŋ lēg</i> (or <i>bilǒŋ fūt</i>)
neck, throat: <i>něk (nĩk)</i>	ankle: <i>skru bilǒŋ fūt</i> (or <i>bilǒŋ lēg</i>)
shoulder: <i>šol(dǎr)</i>	foot: <i>fūt</i>
arm: <i>arm</i>	toe: <i>fĩngǎr bilǒŋ fūt</i>
hand: <i>hǎn</i>	

It will be noticed that the parts of the body for which Pidgin has terms are limited to those open to direct observation. If the speakers’ range of observation were to be extended to more recondite phenomena, however, further terms might easily be coined: thus, ‘tonsil’ might be rendered as **lĩklĩk buk i-stap lǒŋ ĩnsajd bilǒŋ něk* ‘the little swelling which is on the inside of the throat,’ etc.

In its use of a very restricted number of basic words to serve as the foundation for an extensive derived vocabulary, therefore, Pidgin is yet another exemplification of the truth of the doctrine that any language, even one of the ‘minimum’ or ‘marginal’ type, has in its own resources sufficient material to serve any needs or to meet any use to which its speakers may wish to put it.

WORD FORMATION BY SHORTENING AND AFFIXATION: THE 'SUDETENS' AND THE 'YUGOS'*

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IN THE FOLLOWING discussion I wish to trace the history of two neologisms, and at the same time, to present them as examples of the working of interrelated linguistic processes of a typical character.

I

The term *Sudetens*, extremely frequent in the news columns of 1938, did not exist before that year. There had existed in English only the 'Sudetes,' the 'Sudeten,' the 'Sudetic Mountains,' and the originally German 'Sudetengebirge,' all terms identifying a group of mountains and never anything else.¹

Therefore, when those acquainted with Central Europe read for the first time about the *Sudetens*, they naturally assumed that a 'corrupted' form—*Sudeten*, equipped with the suffix -s of so many English names of mountain chains—referred to that range, and they were just as astonished at reading about 'the wishes of the Sudetens' as they would have been at reading about the wishes of the Rockies or the Catskills. The word suddenly meant people, not mountains, and it was apparently a plural of a singular that so far did not exist: on August 9, 1938, the *New York Times* reported that a *Sudeten* had been killed. But even so one could wonder why the word also signified, as I propose to show, many people who had nothing to do with the Sudeten Mountains area and, on the other hand, excluded from its meaning part of the inhabitants of these districts.

The history of the new meaning as well as of the two new word forms is not just another case of a shortened form and an extended meaning. The word has been conditioned by political situations and events which must be retold if the various stages of its morphologic and semantic development are to be understood.

When in the last months of 1918 the Czechoslovakian republic was being created, her leaders wished the country bounded by three chains of mountains: the Sudeten in the Northeast, the Erzgebirge in the

* Part of a paper read at the meeting of the Linguistic Society at the University of Wisconsin, July 17, 1943. The rest, entitled 'Nazi and Sozi,' will appear in *Modern Language Notes*.

1. See William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

Northwest, the Böhmerwald in the Southwest. The reaches of these mountains had a German-speaking majority. At the same time the new republic of Austria claimed these territories for herself, with the intention of dividing them into five administrative units: 1. *Sudetenland* with a population of 650,000, 2. *Deutschböhmen* (German Bohemia) with 2,000,000, 3. *Böhmerwaldgau* (German South Bohemia) with 175,000, 4. *Deutsch-Südmähren* (German South Moravia) with 180,000, and 5. an enclave with 38,000 inhabitants. There were 3,200,000 Germans in Czechoslovakia, 2,600,000 of whom lived in areas with a German speaking majority. Only 450,000 of these three millions were dwellers in the Sudeten district. When in the peace conference of St. Germain Czechoslovakia was established as the successor of the three 'Countries of the Bohemian Crown' (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia), a German Irredentist movement came into existence.

For some time the Germans there still called themselves—as they had done under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy—*Deutschböhmen* (German Bohemians), *Deutschmährer* (German Moravians), *Schlesier* (Silesians), respectively; or, reluctantly referring to the new conditions, *Germans in Czechoslovakia*; or, coining a new name for the republic, *Deutsche in der Tschechei*.² But these names would not do. To use either of the latter two would have indicated acceptance of the set-up of St. Germain, to use the first three names, regional in denotation, would not have shown that a common fate had developed in their bearers a feeling that the three groups belonged together, in spite of linguistic-tribal differences.³ This feeling led to the need for a common name which would not imply permanent citizenship in Czechoslovakia.

From 1919 on the term *Sudetendeutsche* began to assume this role and slowly to replace the old regional designations.⁴ This seems strange in view of the numerical relations between the Germans in the Sudeten district and those in the other parts of Czechoslovakia. The name did indeed not refer to this district, but was an adaptation of the artificial

2. The suffix *-ei* makes *Tschechei* deprecatory. About the contempt of many Austrian Germans for the Czechs see the writer's 'Zum stilistischen Wert von Lautgruppen und seinen Ursachen,' *Revue des Études Indo-Européennes*, 2: 18-29 (1939).

3. From the viewpoint of dialect the Germans in Czechoslovakia belonged to the different groups in the respective adjoining areas of Germany and Austria: Silesians, Upper-Saxons, Upper-Franconians, Bavarians.

4. This process was not completed until about 1925. See, e.g., the series *Flugblätter für Deutschösterreichs Recht* (1918-25), R. F. Arnold's bibliography of German literature in Czechoslovakia in his *Bücherkunde*, the minutes of the sessions of the German-Austrian National Assembly from 1918 to 1919, the competition of the two meanings in the headings of the 'Flugschriften des Hilfsvereines für Deutschböhmen und die Sudetenländer. Auslandsgemeinschaft der Sudetendeutschen.'

term *Sudetenländer* (Sudeten countries), used sometimes, as a plural only, by the geographers of the old monarchy for the Austrian 'crown lands' Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, because the Sudeten happen at least to touch each of the three countries.⁵ It was the only term at hand which could evoke common associations, and it became also the fostering soil of our new English word.

Soon the 'Sudeten Germans' began to speak of *the Sudetenland*, meaning by this in a vague way either the somewhat shapeless territory inhabited by the Germans of Czechoslovakia or their national community, a spiritual realm. This postulated new German 'land' gave birth in turn to the name of a newly postulated ethnic group, the *Sudetenländer* (Engl. *Sudetenlanders*). Such a name was quite apt to emphasize the new national unit, based on common language and fate. The feeling for such a unit had not existed until 1919.⁶

Owing to political developments among the Germans in Czechoslovakia, the word *Sudeten German* lost its new geographically or ethnically referential character and became a political catch-word; it drew (Engl.) *Sudetenlander* with it. The German National Socialists in Czechoslovakia, fighting the German 'Activist' parties—i.e. those which had, between 1926 and 1929, given up their opposition against the Czechoslovakian state as such—gathered under the name *Sudeten German Party*. This name tended to produce the impression of referring not to one of four German parties, but to the parliamentary representation of *the* 'Sudeten Germans'; this in spite of the fact that in 1935, at the climax of its parliamentary career, the party had won only 58% of the German votes.⁷ Abroad, the acts and proclamations of the *Sudeten German Party* were indeed taken as those of a whole people, the 'Sudeten Germans.' When Germany's press began to declare that attacks on the 'Sudeten Germans' might lead to a threat to the European peace, their claims and clashes came in the headlines into everybody's sight and mind.

This had linguistically characteristic consequences. Technically it invited, and psychologically it made possible a shortening of the word.

5. A common name had been needed to set them apart in terms of orography from the natural units *Alpenländer*, *Karstländer*, *Karpathenländer*.

6. See, e.g., title and preface of Hadina-Müller-Rüdersdorf, *Grossböhmerland, Ein Heimatbuch für Deutschböhmen, Nordmähren und das südöstliche Schlesien* (1923), and the introductions in the books mentioned by Arnold, *l.c.* Everywhere in Hadina's book a certain reluctance toward the adoption of the ambiguous words *sudetendeutsch* and *Sudetenland* is noticeable, due to the semantic difficulties in their use.

7. Cf. the confused comment on the *Sudeten German Party* victory in those elections: 'The *Sudeten Germans* are those settled in the mountains between Czechoslovakia and Silesia and they comprise most of the Germans settled in the former country.' (*New York Times*, May 20, 1935.)

Short forms are useful in newspaper language, and in headlines in particular. But there they are possible only if they will be immediately understood, because of the reader's awareness of the context, verbal or factual. If they meet response, continued for considerable time, they will enter the common speech and have a fair chance of being accepted into literary English.

In March 1938, *Germans* was dropped from the word and *the Sudeten* appeared as the name for a national group. *The Sudetens*⁸ and the singular *a Sudeten* followed soon, both forms in English only, never in German. In October of the same year the new word with the new meaning had entered the language of books.⁹

Had these new words—new forms with an entirely different, not merely an extended or limited meaning—been nothing but shortened forms, they would either have indicated a recollection of the original meaning and become something like *Sudeteners*¹⁰ or radically truncated forms, perhaps **Suds* or **Sudes* like the *Yugos* (for *Yugoslavs*) of 1941, with no claim to any literal meaning. But the use of *Sudetens* by linguistically conservative editorial offices clearly indicates a decisive misunderstanding, because of which they allowed themselves to use the 'shorter' form.

Morphology, semantics, and political history are here tightly interwoven, in a way manifest in the history of the word. The following steps may be distinguished, though not always separated, for the very reason that they depend on each other.

A) Morphologically:

I. The compound was shortened (*Sudeten German(s)* or *Sudeten-lander(s)* > *Sudeten*).

II. This noun (with a new meaning) was mistaken for the plural of a singular (*the Sudeten* producing *a Sudeten*).

III. The newly created singular became the basis for a new plural, formed with the suffix *s* (*a Sudeten: the Sudetens*), and used at first, along with *the Sudeten*.

B) Semantic Conditions:

Step I was possible, because in 1937 and 1938 the words *Sudeten German* and *Sudetenland* had become a meaningful property of the common reader.

8. The first instance I could find seems to be a correspondent's translation mistake: "'Henlein is undisputed leader of the German Sudetens" [instead of *Sudeten Germans* for *Sudetendeutsche?*], said another speaker.' (*New York Times*, March 28, 1938.)

9. Henry C. Wolfe, *Human Dynamite* (The Foreign Policy Association, 1939), p. 38; Bertram de Colonna, *Czechoslovakia Within* (1938), p. 89; William Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, from August 4 to September 12.

10. William Shirer, *l.c.*, after September 12, along with *Sudeten Germans*.

Step II is explained by two facts. In the first place, the little known original meaning of *Sudeten* (mountains) had vanished, because of the political development described. Now the name implied nothing but 'Germans in Czechoslovakia' and was thus misunderstood as the name of a national group. This development happened in the form of a semantically progressive chronologic series like the following: *the Sudeten Germans*, *Sudeten German* . . . (qualifying a noun), *Sudeten people*, *Sudeten problem*, *Sudeten demonstration*, *Sudeten opinion*, *Sudeten ultimatum*. These examples, taken from hundreds of similar ones, show a development of meaning which goes through many ambiguous and marginal stages. But its start, direction, and end are clear: Territory > its inhabitants > a group which assumed the name of its inhabitants > the problems of this group and of the larger territory claimed by it > the people inhabiting this larger territory. Step II was secondly a 'formation by analogy': *Sudetenland*, with its dubious first component, was fitted into a well known pattern: *Sudetenland* is the land of the *Sudetens* just as *Finland* that of the *Finns* or *Scotland* that of the *Scots*.

Step III followed quite naturally: *Sudetens* belonged to *Sudeten* like *Finns* to *Finn*. Here the word 'followed' does not necessarily mean chronologically, for II and III are interdependent.

The new word seems to have originated in the more sensationally written 'penny papers,' published in intentionally careless English, but it became quickly a competitor of the full form also in periodicals that stress 'correctness.'¹¹ From the journalistic viewpoint the new form, having the advantage of being shorter and 'simpler' than the compound, had also that of more appeal to friendly or hostile emotions: compound words are more technical and intellectual, since the qualification of one word by another is a somewhat abstract operation.

11. I am charting here, as representative of this group, the development in the *New York Times*. The *N.Y.T. Index* makes such a task relatively easy; limitations in clerical assistance enforced the limitation to this typical source.

	<i>Sudetec German</i>	<i>Sudeten German</i>	Other <i>Sudeten</i> combinations (Ambiguous)	<i>Sudetens</i> (name for people)
1918-1934	—	—	—	—
1935	—	6	—	—
1936	—	9	—	—
1937	36	76	7	—
1938	3	827	775	247
1939	—	17	5	4

After 1939 the German population of Czechoslovakia was no longer a newspaper topic. But the word still exists: 'The Czech market was stolen by the Germans [in the Reich] from the *Sudetens*.' (*Daily Mirror*, March 28, 1941.) See also *N.Y. Times Book Review*, January 24, 1943, p. 7.

Thus *Sudeten(s)* (and *Sudeten Germans*) had acquired a wide range of categories of meaning from truly or seemingly factual, geographic reference to highly emotional connotations and propagandistic suggestions. Finally, it was accepted as an ethnologic term and now appears as such on ethnologic maps. This situation led to much confusion, and was not without bearing on European developments.

What are, in general, the conditions which favor the abbreviating of words in such a way that the trunk remains fertile and becomes a new organism? Both the object-reader and the word-reader relationship are important. While it is necessary that the object or situation referred to be at least well known and should carry some emotional appeal, the literal meaning of the remaining word part is better unknown.¹² Otherwise an obvious discrepancy between the intended meaning and the logical sense of the neologism may result for some time in humorous effects. (Let us imagine the *Netherlanders* abbreviated to the *Nethers*, or the *Newfoundlanders* to the *Newfounds*, like *Sudetenlanders* to *Sudetens*.) The new word will also be frowned upon by the better-knowing reader as 'senseless' or 'ugly' or, at best, 'crazy.'

II

The theory that conditions of mass psychology like those prevailing in the case just discussed are favorable to the creation of words by shortening could be verified in another instance. An even more 'senseless' new name for a nation was produced by journalistic needs in 1941; it responded likewise to widespread suspense, and was, just like *Sudetens*, made possible by awareness of facts and ignorance of a literal word sense.

The birth of *Yugo*, identifying in single instances *Yugoslavia* and in a great many *Yugoslav* or *Yugoslavian*, both as adjective and noun, plural *the Yugos*, reflected the anxiety of the newspaper public of March, 1941, as to what would happen in the Balkan peninsula. British troops had landed in Greece, Bulgaria joined the axis, and the further course of the war seemed largely to depend on Yugoslavia's attitude. This country became the focus of public attention. On March 20 the suspense was broken and one could read on the front pages of certain papers: 'Yugos Reach Limited Pact With Axis' (*N.Y. Daily News*), 'Yugo To Join Axis,' 'Yugo's Cabinet Split On Signing Pact With Axis' (*N.Y. Journal American*, *Daily Mirror*). The following events kept the new word alive for eleven days.

12. The opposite is acceptable too: a multiple sense, lending itself to a pun. See the writer's 'Nazi and Sozi' (cited in note 1).

This name had sprung from a psychologic and linguistic setting similar to that from which *the Sudetens* originated, with the one difference that this time the situation was more acute and the creation of the word more rapid, not prepared for by a series of ambiguous words and word functions. Here again the object had to be close enough to the surface of everyman's consciousness to make the new sign immediately understandable. On the other hand, the literal meaning of *Yugo-Slavia* (*South Slavia*) was generally unknown. Otherwise the rapid acceptance of the 'senseless' term would have been hampered. Even the newspaper man responsible for the word was probably not aware of the original meaning of *Yugoslavs*. But he doubtless felt that the imaginative and emotional force of the simple name was greater than that of the compound. The phrase *Yugoslavs strike* sounds slightly academic, compared with *Yugos strike*, which conveys something like the idea of some tribe on the war path. The decrease in intellectually articulated content brings about an increase in imaginative appeal.¹³

Yugo and *Yugos* were consciously mutilated words, not shortened on the basis of misunderstandings, like *Sudetens*. It fits into the picture that journals, generally phrased in 'standard English,' which had fostered the *Sudetens*, did not accept *Yugo(s)*. The latter term was felt as a doubtful mutilation and therefore as a greater deviation from standard usage than *Sudetens*, considered merely as a simplifying de-composition. Predilections and inhibitions regarding this deviation appear to be an accurate function of more general, sociologic attitudes.¹⁴

13. The politician feels this and makes use of it. *Yugoslavia* itself is an example: When in 1919, this state was established under the Serbian dynasty, its founders chose the name *Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes*, thus sparing the national sensitiveness of the three peoples. Because of the country's internal troubles, the king rebaptized it in 1929 *Yugoslavia*, thus pretending or postulating the existence of one nation only. For analogous reasons the Czechoslovakian government forbade the hyphenated spelling *Czecho-Slovakia*. This linguistic device for slurring over national differences is not new however: 'Aeneas . . . ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret *nec sub eodem iure solum sed etiam nomine omnes essent*, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit.' (Livy I, 2, 5.)

14. I have checked the usage in six New York papers, reviewing the period from March 1 to April 30. The 'penny-papers,' the *Daily News* and *Daily Mirror* use *Yugos* as a noun abundantly from March 20 (21st) on, *Yugo* in adjective function and as name of the country from March 24. In the *Journal-American*, *Yugo* appears as the country's name in the headlines from the 21st to the 30th, from then on as a picture caption only. (The more daring form *Yugos* was used a single time.) This paper, which in its appearance holds the middle between the sensational presentation of the small-sized *Daily News* and *Daily Mirror* and the more conservative make-up of the *New York Sun* and *New York Times*, had at first stylistically the impulses of the former group, but followed then the pattern of the latter. The *New York Post*, which stresses some sort of seriousness, always adhered to the 'correct' form. The last three did not feel free to use the truncated form at all, while the *Daily News*, *Daily Mirror* and *Journal-American* displayed it scores of times, though in the headlines only; but none of the six papers refrained from using *Sudetens* in any kind of text.

Incidentally, a perusal of headlines referring to the Yugoslavian war revealed in many papers once more the general preference given to uncompounded forms, even at the risk of gross inaccuracies, which in the given situation however were more of a verbal than material character. The reader knew what was meant when he read: 'Irate *Serb* Troops Hold Up Axis Pact,' '*Slav* Protest Grows,' 'Terror By *Slavs* Assailed.' It did not matter when the sense of the substitute for *Yugoslavs* was too specific (*Serbs*) or too general (*Slavs*). The referent was at that time still the same. (*Serb* meant *Yugoslavs* long before some Croat leaders had gone over to the Axis, and *Slavs* was still used when the Slavic Croats were already on the other side.) When *Slavs* had been introduced as a temporary synonym for *Yugoslavs*, there was indeed at work not the idea that the Yugoslavs are Slavic peoples, but the wish to shorten the unhandy compound by cutting either *-slavs* or *Yugo-*. The second solution was less radical and linguistically less interesting.

Around April 2 the 'Yugos' asked for peace and the common Yugoslav nation as well as its name disappeared from the news columns. The term would have forced itself into the common language more deeply if a common Yugoslav war effort had lasted longer. History created the word and made its life short, for the time being at least.

SUBSTITUTES FOR 'SUBSTITUTE'

Of interest are the suggestions made by Sir Robert Garran in the issue of the *Rotarian* for April, 1943. He writes: 'Surely the answer is *superstute* in the search for a "new word to designate materials, originally substitutes, which later supplement and supplant the original." *Substitute*, something below the real article; something inferior. *Superstute*, something standing above the real article; something superior, which now that its superiority is known will supplant the original thing. Accent *superstute*

like (*sic*) you would the word superstition.'

Syntute has been offered by Mr. B. C. Jones of Chillicothe, Missouri, as a word to embody the ideas of synthetic and substitute, without their connotations of makeshift. *Supplantitude* is another term that has been suggested, this by W. E. Campbell of Greensboro, North Carolina.

Laboratory workers in the canning industry refer to substitutes for tin in cans as *alternates*.

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NOTES ON THE LENGTH OF VOWELS (VI)

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WE PRESENT in this note the results of two series of experiments which seek to determine the duration of vowels in lexical pronunciation before labial stops and before palatal and velar stops. We add for comparison the data for these vowels before dental stops, published in *American Speech*, April, 1937, pp. 128-134 and December, 1940, pp. 377-380.

The conditions under which the present data have been obtained were the same as those described in the two articles cited. The records of Heffner's pronunciation were made in Cambridge in 1936-1937. They were incomplete when interrupted by his transfer from Harvard to Wisconsin and, as a result, the data for some of the vowels before [k] and [g] are less complete in some respects than our statistical method would require, i.e. some words were not recorded in sufficient quantity to yield a wholly satisfactory curve of distribution.¹ It was not thought prudent to add later to the number of these recordings, since the interval of time and the change of environment from Cambridge to Madison would inject a disturbing factor into the conditions of the experiment. This decision was reached after extensive tests had shown certain changes actually to have taken place between 1937 and 1939, when this experiment was again taken up. The data for Lehmann's pronunciation are derived from recordings made at Wisconsin in 1940-1941. Of the 43 curves of distribution for this data, only 6 show notable skewness. Circumstances do not permit us to continue these recordings to remove this defect. We know what caused it and we cannot remove the cause. The imperfection results from the fact that recordings made subsequent to Lehmann's doctoral examination consistently show a tendency toward greater vowel length. There was, of course, no change in the conditions of the experiment; the tempo at which the words were recorded remained the same, but there were increases up to .03 seconds in the length of certain vowels recorded. The tendency is observable to some extent for each vowel, but the results are most noticeable in the curves for [ɔ] and [ɑ] before [b] and [g], and of [æ] and [u] before [b]. It seems to us reasonable to suppose that the observed differences result from a change in general muscle tonus, which in turn resulted from the removal of certain nervous tensions, which must have existed, although neither of us observed them prior to the change. This experience is entirely consonant with observations made for Heffner's

1. Cf. *American Speech*, 12: 129 (Apr. 1937).

TABLE I

VOWEL DURATION IN LEXICAL PRONUNCIATION

Data from Lehmann (L) and Heffner (H). The figure in brackets is the number of measurements made. The decimal figure is the average duration of the vowel.

Vowel	<i>Before Dental</i>		<i>Before Labial</i>		<i>Before Pal.-Vel.</i>	
	[t]	[d]	[p]	[b]	[k]	[g]
ɪ	(H) [128] .15	[106] .20	[121] .14	[128] .19	[74] .14	[58] .22
	(L) [149] .16	[144] .20	[131] .18	[51] .23	[156] .17	[112] .22
ʊ	(H) [103] .15	[108] .20	[120] .14	—	[96] .16	—
	(L) [63] .17	[70] .19	—	—	[104] .19	—
ʌ	(H) [107] .17	[99] .20	[118] .16	[119] .19	[82] .16	[76] .22
	(L) [94] .17	[98] .19	[66] .18	[128] .21	[108] .19	[123] .25
ɛ	(H) [106] .18	[103] .22	[69] .16	[80] .22	[61] .17	[59] .24
	(L) [78] .18	[75] .21	[22] .20	[28] .24	[69] .20	[69] .25
ɑ	(H) [100] .18	[114] .26	[114] .20	[105] .25	[67] .22	—
	(L) [79] .24	[80] .29	[159] .27	[85] .34	[193] .29	[72] .37
i	(H) [101] .21	[103] .28	[159] .19	—	[79] .20	—
	(L) [113] .19	[116] .28	[126] .20	—	[95] .20	—
æ	(H) [116] .21	[124] .31	[121] .21	[91] .26	[57] .23	[78] .26
	(L) [110] .25	[112] .29	[137] .28	[88] .34	[166] .30	[138] .36
ɔ	(H) [102] .22	[116] .32	[72] .25	[70] .28	[61] .25	[82] .30
	(L) [85] .26	[69] .30	[28] .29	[26] .34	[92] .30	[100] .37
u	(H) [126] .23	[124] .29	[73] .18	[88] .25	[39] .23	—
	(L) [71] .20	[67] .28	[88] .20	[26] .30	[24] .19	—
ɜ	(H) [73] .23	[70] .29	[90] .21	[91] .25	[57] .21	[62] .28
	(L) [95] .21	[99] .27	[29] .23	[49] .33	[103] .23	[25] .36
e	(H) [107] .23	[105] .30	[106] .23	[94] .28	[60] .22	[35] .29
	(L) [92] .24	[78] .29	[100] .26	[27] .35	[153] .26	—
aɪ	(H) [100] .24	[116] .32	[102] .23	—	[81] .25	—
	(L) [111] .23	[120] .32	[46] .25	[20] .37	[109] .25	—
o	(H) [109] .25	[102] .30	[121] .21	—	[53] .23	[60] .28
	(L) [77] .25	[75] .30	[113] .25	—	[88] .26	—
aʊ	(H) [100] .27	[113] .33	—	—	[42] .25	—
	(L) [66] .24	[64] .32	—	—	—	—

Total Measurements

Before [t]	(H) 1478	(L) 1280
Before [d]	(H) 1503	(L) 1270
Before [p]	(H) 1386	(L) 1045
Before [b]	(H) 866	(L) 528
Before [k]	(H) 909	(L) 1460
Before [g]	(H) 510	(L) 639

Number of Words Measured

(H) 70	(L) 69
(H) 61	(L) 65
(H) 44	(L) 45
(H) 25	(L) 23
(H) 43	(L) 61
(H) 22	(L) 28

pronunciation after 1939, as compared with recordings made in 1936-1937. We do not consider it permissible to attempt to draw conclusions from our data with respect to the question, why certain vowels seem to be more seriously affected by such changes than others. We should have excluded all these later measurements from Lehmann's data, had they occasioned any significant change in the relative duration of one vowel as compared with the others. Table I, which shows the number of measurements dealt with, will also indicate why we do not care to undertake this experiment *de novo*.

The first question for which we seek an answer is, whether or not the differences of final consonants are correlated with differences of duration for any or all of the vowels. This question can only be approached from a comparison of data in which the difference of final consonant is isolated, i.e. we may compare only forms which are otherwise the same, e.g. *pit:pip*, *hit:hip*, *peat:peep*, etc. Table II, which follows, shows a summary of our comparisons, indicating (a) the contrast studied, e.g. [t]:[p], (b) the speaker whose pronunciation is measured, e.g. L = Lehmann, (c) the number of contrasting pairs involved, (d) the number of pairs in which the vowel is longer before the first member of the pair, (e) the number of pairs in which the vowel is longer before the second member of the pair (f) the number of pairs in which the two vowels are of equal length, (g) the maximum difference in duration observed, (h) the average difference in duration for the series of comparisons.

TABLE II

(a) <i>Contrast</i>	(b) <i>Speaker</i>	(c) <i>Total</i>	(d) <i>First member</i>	(e) <i>Second member</i>	(f) <i>Equal</i>	(g) <i>Maximum</i>	(h) <i>Average</i>
[t]:[p]	L	24	4	18	2	.05	.019
	H	18	8	4	6	.04	.012
[t]:[k]	L	33	1	29	3	.07	.028
	H	20	7	9	4	.04	.015
[p]:[k]	L	27	3	15	9	.03	.010
	H	17	5	9	3	.03	.012
[d]:[b]	L	13	0	13	0	.08	.048
	H	8	5	1	2	.03	.014
[d]:[g]	L	11	0	11	0	.10	.066
	H	9	4	5	0	.04	.020
[b]:[g]	L	9	1	8	0	.05	.028
	H	7	0	7	0	.05	.036

As a sample of the basic data from which this tabulation is derived we print the shortest array, Table III. Here the figure in brackets is the number of measurements taken, the decimal figure is the average duration of the vowel, in seconds.

TABLE III

						[b]:[g]					
<i>Lehmann</i>						<i>Heffner</i>					
bib	[26]	.22	big	[22]	.23	bib	[61]	.19	big	[16]	.21
fib	[25]	.24	fig	[22]	.22	dib	[15]	.18	dig	[23]	.22
gab	[23]	.34	gag	[22]	.37	gab	[17]	.27	gag	[15]	.32
tab	[23]	.33	tag	[20]	.36	tab	[32]	.26	tag	[19]	.30
cob	[23]	.34	cog	[25]	.36						
dub	[22]	.20	dug	[21]	.23	dub	[24]	.20	dug	[20]	.23
pub	[20]	.21	pug	[21]	.26	pub	[23]	.18	pug	[19]	.23
tub	[22]	.21	tug	[21]	.25	tub	[34]	.20	tug	[20]	.22
hub	[19]	.22	hug	[15]	.24						

We look first for the possible effect of the labials. In the contrasts of vowel before labial with vowel before dental we find opposed tendencies in the two speakers: Lehmann has a definite tendency, seen in 31 of 37 pairs, toward greater length of vowel before labial; Heffner shows this in only 4 of 26 contrasted pairs, while he has greater vowel length before dentals in 14 of these contrasts; in 8 the vowel duration is equal. The average difference in Lehmann's [t]:[p] series is almost .02 sec., in the [d]:[b] series almost .05 sec., and these values, particularly the latter, are too great to be mere chance deviations. The comparison of vowel before labial with vowel before palatal or velar shows for both speakers a tendency towards longer vowels before [k] and [g]. This appears for Lehmann in 23 of 36 pairs, for Heffner in 16 of 24 pairs. The vowels are longer before labials in only 4 of 36 pairs for Lehmann, in 5 of 24 for Heffner. The tendency in the voiced series [b]:[g] is strongest for both speakers, with 15 of the 16 pairs showing a longer vowel before [g]. Moreover, the average difference in this series, .028 for Lehmann, .036 for Heffner, is too great to be ignored.

We conclude that Lehmann's lip articulations are generally slower than his tongue-tip articulations, and that this difference is most notable before voiced stops, where the average difference is 18 per cent of the duration of the vowel before dentals, as compared with an average difference of 9 per cent in the voiceless series. For Heffner there is apparently little difference in the relative facility of lip and tongue-tip articulation. On the other hand, the palatal and velar tongue articulations of both speakers are somewhat slower than the lip movements. These conclusions rest upon an assumption, which we cannot prove to be true: namely, that the innervation for these consonant movements at the end of a checked vowel will start at approximately the same interval after the onset of any given vowel regardless of the point at which the stop is to be articulated, though with this reservation, that the innervation may begin later for a voiced than for a voiceless consonant in this position.

When we compare the duration of vowels before dentals with vowels before palatals or velars we find for Lehmann a clear tendency toward longer vowels before [k] and [g] in 40 of his 44 contrasted pairs. For Heffner this tendency is anything but clear: in 14 of 29 pairs the vowel is longer before [k] or [g], in 11 it is longer before [t] or [d], and the average difference is less than .02 sec., while for Lehmann the average difference is more nearly .04 sec. Here again we find the trend clearer before [g]. We conclude, in this case, that Lehmann's lip articulation, while slower than his tongue-tip articulation, is still faster than his palatal or velar articulation, while for Heffner again no such difference can be maintained. The question, which of us more nearly represents the hypothetical 'average' speaker in this respect, can be decided tentatively in favor of Lehmann, because of certain long-practiced articulatory exercises in Heffner's experience.

We sum up this part of our study in the conclusions: (a) That before a voiced stop one may expect a somewhat longer vowel duration than before the homorganic voiceless stop. This is true for every vowel, and our evidence on this point is unequivocal. (b) That, ordinarily, the same vowel will be somewhat shorter before [t] than before [p] or [k], and that it will be somewhat shorter before [d] than before [b] or [g]. (c) Since this last finding is not true in general for at least one speaker with a past experience of special training in 'Zungenfertigkeit,' we suggest that the 'lag' in the vowel before [g], which is observable for both speakers, may be connected with the amount of effective practice each has had in the production of this stop. That is to say, we suggest here a possible correlation with the relative frequency of this consonant.

We have at our disposal no reliable data for the relative frequency of consonants in American English, which distinguishes between word-positions as factors in the several consonants, but we may, with due reservations, make use of such data as we have. (a) We observe that of the first 100 words of the Dewey frequency count,² eleven have a vowel checked by final [t], five have a vowel checked by final [d], and none at all have the other stops in final position. (b) We observe, that in Dewey's list of consonants (p. 125), [g] ranks 19th of 24, in order of their frequency of occurrence. This is, of course, not the frequency of [g] in final position, but its whole frequency under all circumstances. When we say, then, that the longer vowels which we find before [g] may be due to the relatively lower frequency of [g], we mean to suggest that speakers may tend to have somewhat less facility in articulating a stop which their speech requires

2. Godfrey Dewey, *Relative Frequency of English Speech Sounds* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923).

infrequently than they will have in articulating stops more frequently used. Practice of consonant articulations seems to have some effect upon the duration of the vowel before these stops in Heffner's case: perhaps it has an effect—correlated with frequency—for Lehmann as well. Now, in Dewey's list of 24 consonants [t] ranks second (7.13), [d] ranks fifth (4.31), [k] ranks tenth (2.71), [p] ranks thirteenth (2.04), [b] ranks fifteenth (1.81), and [g] ranks nineteenth (0.74). These figures mean, roughly, that if one articulates 1,000 speech sounds in normal speech 70 of them will be [t], only 7 of them [g]. We may not expect Lehmann's performance of final checking stops to correlate perfectly with Dewey's frequencies, first of all because the latter do not refer solely to checking stops. Also Dewey's list is twenty years old, and may or may not represent a reasonable cross-section of contemporary American usage. Full correlation should be expected only when frequency data rest upon the same conditions as those under which the performance takes place. Yet there is a fair presumption that Dewey's list is still reasonably representative of American speech as it is today, and there is a reasonable presumption that Lehmann's performance is not far from normal. In so far as these presumptions are correct we may expect Lehmann to show a behavior pattern at least in harmony with the frequency data. Such behavior would call for shortest vowels before [t], next shortest before [k], third shortest before [p], although with [k] and [p] so close together on the frequency scale, the difference here might not be great. In the voiced series we should get the shortest vowels before [d], the next shortest before [b], and the longest before [g]. From the data of Table II above it is evident that Lehmann's vowels before [t] are shorter than either his vowels before [p] or his vowels before [k] in 47 of the 57 comparisons made, in 5 more there is no difference in duration, and in only 5 of the 57 pairs is the vowel before [t] longer. On the other hand in the [p]:[k] comparison, Lehmann's behavior is contrary to the demands of the frequency data, in that 15 of 27 comparisons show his vowels to be longer before [k] than before [p], and in only 3 of the 27 pairs are the vowels longer before [p]. In 9 pairs no difference of duration is found, and the average difference observed in the others is just .01 sec. There is not much difference in the relative frequency of [p] and [k], 2.04 as against 2.71, and there is not much difference in Lehmann's vowels before these stops, yet what there is is opposed to the requirements of our conception of the effect of relative frequency. Since we know, however, that this frequency data is not precisely comparable with the scope of our measurements, we see in this contradiction no reason for rejecting our theory. In the voiced stop series Lehmann's measurements show complete harmony with our interpretation of the relative frequencies for the com-

parisons [d]:[b] and [d]:[g], in 26 of 26 contrasted pairs. In the comparison [b]:[g] his performance is in accord with our theory in 8 of 9 contrasted pairs, and the average difference in duration is real, .03 sec. Whether the exception *fib* .24: *fig* .22 'proves the rule,' no one can say. Perhaps individual word-frequencies may cause such a deviation from the pattern, or perhaps word-frequency has nothing to do with this case. We can sum up Lehmann's 'score' as follows: in 82 of 117 contrasted pairs his behavior follows the expected lines defined by this application of the theory of the effect of relative frequency. In 21 of 117 pairs his behavior is in the opposite direction, while in 14 pairs we find no durational difference. With the most conservative calculation we may say that his behavior is 70 per cent in accord with the expected trend. Similar computation shows Heffner's performance to rate only 44 per cent, with 18 per cent of the comparisons showing no difference at all in duration and 38 per cent being opposed to the expected trend. We infer that the special exercises referred to have made Heffner's performance more or less immune to the trend imposed by the normal relative frequencies of the stops involved.

It seems to us, therefore, that the increased length of vowels found before certain of these stops in Lehmann's performance, coupled with the fact that this is not found in Heffner's more specifically conditioned performance, is an argument for the thesis that the increased length of vowel is due to less skill in enunciating the consonants concerned. We assume that less skill means slower response to the stimulus evoking the movement. If this is correct, we suggest that the result is indirect evidence in support of our assumption, mentioned above as unproved, that the innervation of these final stops is initiated at approximately the same interval after the onset of any given vowel, without regard to the point of articulation of the checking stop, though with the reservation that the innervation may begin later for a voiced than for a voiceless stop. We have to make this reservation, because our interpretation of the effect of relative frequency would otherwise compel us to expect vowels before [d] to be shorter than vowels before [k] or [p], since [d] is relatively much more frequent in speech than either [k] or [p], and we know that such an expectation is contrary to observed fact. Our reservation amounts then to the assertion that behavior in the articulation of final stops is not correlated with or conditioned solely by the relative frequency of these stops, but that within certain groups of speech sounds, similar to each other in some basic feature, differences in the skill and speed of articulation may be correlated with and conditioned by differences in the frequency with which the sounds occur in normal speech. We find such groups to be either ([t], [k], [p]), or ([d], [b], [g]), or ([t], [d]), or ([k], [g]),

or ([p], [b]), with the correlation valid only within each group and not for the series: [t], [d], [k], [p], [b], [g].

To the basic question, suggested by our argument above, whether the frequency relations cause the differences of skill in enunciation, or whether the differences of skill ultimately condition the frequency relationships, we answer: Our reasoning is based on the common-sense observation that, within ordinary limits, the more frequently one performs a given series of muscular movements, the more skillful one becomes at it. We hold that the physiological organism is subject to conditioning and that there are degrees of skill which may be correlated with different amounts of effective practice. At any given moment an individual speaker is likely to be conditioned, in the sense in which we speak, by the relative frequency with which he has produced the different speech sounds. From the standpoint of the history of the language, we hold that such differences in skill can become important only as they approach in degree a condition which may justly be described as one of 'difficulty.' Real difficulty of articulation, if such a thing exists, may, we concede, lead to the preference of easier and the displacement of more difficult articulations. But there is a threshold for such changes: the 'difficulty' must reach a degree sufficient to make itself evident in *qualitative* changes, resulting from faulty response to the stimulus. Quantitative changes, such as we adduce, remain, at least normally, subliminal, although they may well be the initial signs of more prominent qualitative changes impending, if the trend towards decreased skill continues. We should not describe the slightly lower degree of skill in enunciating [g], which is the most prominent item in our observations, as evidence of a 'difficulty' in articulation, because there is never any disruption in the stimulus-response chain, but merely a slight 'lag' in time, which shows itself in increased length accruing to the vowel before this stop.

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION*

I

Transcription of the speech of Professor Albert Marckwardt of the University of Michigan speaking on the topic, 'What is Good English?' on November 26, 1937. The speaker was born in Michigan in 1903.

er 'stɑdɪ əv ðə 'fɔəmz| əv ði 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ 'læŋɡwɪdʒ| 'dʒuəriŋ ðə 'læst 'wʌn 'θauzənd 'jɪəz| 'ɪndɪkeɪts| ðæt 'sɜtən ɪn'flekʃnəl| ʔænd sɪn'tæktɪkəl 'fɪtʃəz| hæv bɪn 'kɑnstəntlɪ ɪk'spændɪŋ æn dɪ'veləpɪŋ| mʌɪl 'ʔʌðəz| hæv bɪn dɪsə'pɪəriŋ|| ɪf ɪt ɪz 'pʌsɪbl frəm ən ɪɡ,zæmə'neɪʃn əv mʌt hæz 'ɡɒn 'ʌn ɪn ðə 'pæst| tə 'meɪk ə 'rɪznəbl prɪ'dɪkʃn| æz tə mʌt wɪl kʌm ə'bʌʊt ɪn ðə 'fjuʃəz| ʔænd wɪ ə'sʌm ðɪs wɪð 'mʌʊst 'stɑdɪz| ʔə 'els wɪ fʊd 'nʌt pə'su ðəm| 'ðen ɪn ðə 'keɪs əv ə dɪ'vaɪdəd 'juːsɪdʒ| lət əs 'tʃuz 'ðæt 'fɔəm ɔ kən'strʌkʃən| mɪʃ 'sɪmz tu bi ɪn ə'kɔəd wɪð ðə dɪ'veləpɪŋ 'tendənsɪz əv ðə 'læŋɡwɪdʒ||

tu rɪ'tɜn tə ðə 'splɪt ɪn'fɪnətɪv|| 'sɪns| ə 'keərful ɪɡ,zæmə'neɪʃn| əv ði 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ| əv ðə 'læst 'faɪv 'hʌndrəd 'jɪəz| 'fʊz 'sʌtʃ ə kən'strʌkʃn tu hæv ə'rɪzɪn| frəm ə dɪ'zʌɪə tə 'spɪk 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ 'nætsfrəlɪ æn 'klɪərlɪ| ðə 'lɪst wɪ kən 'du| ɪz tu ə'lʌʊ ɪt 'ɪkwəl 'ræŋk| wɪð ði æl'tɜnətɪv kən'strʌkʃn|| tə 'feɪvə ɪt| mən ɪt 'sɪmz 'betə tə pə'fɔəm ðə 'fʌŋkʃən əv kə'mjʊnɪkətɪŋ ði ʌɪ'dɪə ɪn'vʌlvɪd| tu 'rʊl ɪt 'aʊt| mən ɪt dʌz nʌt ɪk'spres ðə 'θɔt əz 'klɪərlɪ||

ɪt ɪz 'ɔfən 'ʔæskt| ɪf sətʃ ə 'dʌktrɪn 'mɪnz ðət 'ʔenɪ 'sɔət əv 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ 'hæd ɪn ðə 'strɪt| ɪz 'ɡʊd 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ|| ðæt ɪf ən ɪk'spresɪn ɪz 'juːd| 'nʌʊ 'mæʔə 'mæʔə ɔ bʌɪ 'hʌm| ɪt 'mʌst 'ðen nesə'seərəlɪ bi kə'rekt|| ði 'æksə ɪz 'nʌʊ||

. . . ɪt ɪz 'tru ðət ə'pɒn 'sɜtən ə'keɪɡənz| ðət 'sɜtən ɪk'spresɪnz| ʔæn 'mʌʊdz əv prə'nʌnsɪ'eɪʃn| hæv 'spred| frəm 'wʌn 'soʊʃl 'klæs tu ə'nʌðə| 'frɪkwəntlɪ frəm ə 'haɪə tu ə 'ləʊə| ənd ət 'tʌɪmz| frəm ə 'ləʊə tu ə 'haɪə|| ðə 'brɒd 'ʔɑ 'saʊnd| ɪn 'sʌtʃ 'wɔdz æz 'pæst ən 'hæf| 'ðæt ɪz tu 'seɪ 'pʌst ənd 'hæf| 'nʌʊ kən'sɪdəd 'ʔʌltrə rɪ'faɪnd| bʌɪ 'mēnɪ| ɪz ə 'keɪs ɪn 'pɔɪnt|| fɔ ɪn ðə 'leɪt 'ʔeɪ'tɪnθ 'sentʃəri ənd 'zɪlɪ 'nʌɪm'tɪnθ| ɪt 'wʌz| æz e 'dɪkʃnəri əv ðə 'tʌɪm 'pʊts ɪt| ðə 'saʊnd 'juːd bʌɪ ðə 'vʌlgə| bʌt nʌt ðə pə'lʌɪt ənd 'lɜnəd 'wɔld|| bət 'ðɪz ə'keɪɡnəl 'krɒs 'kɔnts| du nʌt 'dʒʌstəfaɪ ən æk'septəns| əv 'hoʊlɪ ʔʌn'kʌltəveɪtəd 'spɪtʃ æz ən 'əət||

bʌɪ 'vɜtʃu əv ðə hɪs'tɔək| 'prɪnsəp|z| ə'pɒn mɪʃ ðə 'lɪbərəl grə'mæʃiənz prə'sɪd| ðeɪ ʌ 'ʃtɪl kə'mɪtəd| tu ðə 'spɪtʃ əv ðə 'pɪpl hu də'rekt ði ə'feəz əv ðə kə'mjʊnətɪ| æz ə 'stændəd|| 'hʌʊ'evə| sɪns ði 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ 'spɪkɪŋ 'kʌntrɪz ʌ demə'krætɪk ɪn 'keərəktə| ðə lɪmə'teɪʃn ʌv ðə 'spɪtʃ 'stændəd əv ðə 'neəəst 'tʌp 'leɪə əv ðə 'soʊʃl 'ɔədə| ɪz 'ɔlsʌʊ prɪ'klʊdəd|| . . .

* The following transcriptions were made from phonographic recordings of radio broadcasts.

II

Transcriptions of the speech of Mr. W. W. Hatfield, editor of the *English Journal*, and Mr. W. L. Chenery, editor of *Collier's*, speaking on the topic, 'What is Standard Usage?' November 30, 1934.

a. Mr. Hatfield (the speaker was born in Illinois in 1881):

wi æ 'ɔl 'intristɪd in 'læŋgwidʒ| bɪ'kɔz it ɪz 'aʊə 'moust ʔim'pɔʊəntl
'souʃl ænd intə'lektʃuəl 'tuəl|| wi mɑst 'juz it| nɑt 'ounli tu 'baɪ æn tu
'sell tu ə'lektʃənər| bət 'ɔlsou tu 'fɛə 'aʊə ɪk'spiəriənsɪz| ʔaɪ'dɪəz| ən
'filɪŋz| wɪð 'frendz ən 'fæməli|| tə 'meɪk 'lʌv|| tə 'meɪk 'fʌn||

ə 'sekənd 'vælju əv 'gud 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ| ɪz ðət it ʔɪnkɪsɪz 'self rɪ'spekt| ænd
kə'mændz ðə rɪ'spekt əv 'lʌðəz|| tu 'lʊk 'daʊn ə'pɒn ə 'spɪkə| bɪ'kɔz
ə'keɪʒənəl 'slɪps bɪ'treɪ ə 'tʃaɪld'hud 'bæk'graʊnd əv 'pavəti ænd 'lɪmɪtəd
'kʌltʃə| ɪz 'kædɪʃ ænd ʌnə'mæərəkən|| ænd 'jet 'keərəlɪs træns'grɛʃən
əv 'læŋgwidʒ kən'venʃən| 'ɪndəkɪts ən 'æntɪ 'souʃəl ʔætɪtʃud|| ænd ə
'mʌltɪtʃud əv 'ɡleəɪŋ ʔeərəz| səɡ'dʒests| 'ɪðə stju'pɪdɪtɪ| ɔə 'sʌtʃ ə 'læk
əv əd'ventɪdʒɪz æz mɑst hæv ə'fektəd ðə 'houl 'mæn||

'nau let ʌs 'si mʌt 'kwəlɪtɪz ʔɪŋɡlɪʃ 'mɑst 'hæv tə bi 'gud|| 'fɜst|
'læŋgwidʒ ɪf it ɪz tə 'sɜv 'pɜpəsəz əv kə'mjʊnɪ'keɪʃən| mɑst ɪk'spres
ʔækjuəʃətlɪ ænd 'fʊli mʌt ðə 'spɪkə ɔə 'raɪtə 'wɪfəz tə 'seɪ|| sʌtʃ
ɪk'spresɪvnəs drɪ'pendz| prɑɪ'meərəli| ə'pɒn ðə 'tʃɔɪs əv 'dʒʌst ðə 'raɪt 'wɜdz|
ænd ðeə ʔəʒəni'zeɪʃən| ɪntu 'streɪt'fɔəwɜd| 'ɔədəli 'sentənsɪz|| ðɪ 'ould
rɪ'mækl| ðət 'evəri 'nju 'wɜd ə'kwærəd| 'ædz 'ɔlsou eɪ 'nju 'mɪnɪŋ meɪ
bi ə 'slɑt| ɪɡ'zædʒə'eɪʃən|| bət 'sɪns wi 'θɪŋk ɪn 'wɜdz| ðə 'faɪnə 'wʌnz
'wɜd dɪs'krɪmə'neɪʃən| ðə 'moə ɪɡ'zækt hɪz 'θɪŋkɪŋ kæn bi|| ʔəbvɪəsli|
ðə 'waɪdə| ænd 'moə ɪɡ'zækt ə 'spɪkəz kə'mænd əv 'wɜdz| ðə 'strɒŋɡə|
hɪz 'paʊə tu pə'sweɪd| ɪn'fɔəmə| ænd ʔentə'teɪn 'lʌðəz|| 'fɔətʃənətlɪ hɪ
hu 'sentəz hɪz ə'tenʃən ə'pɒn 'tʃuʒɪŋ ðə 'wɜdz tu 'seɪ| 'dʒʌst 'mʌt hɪ
'mɪnz| 'juʒuəli kʌmz tə 'spɪk ænd 'raɪt 'ɔədəli 'sentənsɪz|| fɔə 'sentəns
'strʌktʃə ɪz 'tʃɪfli ə 'mæʔə əv 'streɪt 'θɪŋkɪŋ|| 'gud 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ ɪz 'moust 'pɜfɪkt|
mæn ɪt 'kɔlz 'nou ə'tenʃən tu ɪt'self| 'lɪvɪŋ 'ɔl ðɪ ə'tenʃən əv ðə 'hɪərə
ɔə ðə 'rɪdə| fɔə ðə 'mɪnɪŋ ɪk'sprest|| . . .

b. Mr. Chenery (the speaker was born in Virginia, in 1884):

ðə 'pɜpəs əv 'prɪntɪŋ ɪz tu kən'veɪ ə 'mesɪdʒ|| 'mægəzɪn ʔeɪtɪz| hu
ə'pɪl tu 'vɒləntərɪ 'rɪdəz| 'traɪ tu 'meɪk 'ðeə 'mesədʒəz ʔæz 'sɪmpl æn æz
'plēɪn əz 'pɒsəbl|| ʔʌŋktʃu'eɪʃən| 'ɡræmə| 'speɪlɪŋ| æz rɪ'ga-dɪd æz
drɪ'vaɪsɪz| 'juʃəl æz 'rɪdɪŋ ɪz 'rɛndəd ʔɪzɪə| ænd 'moə ə'ɡrɪəbl|| wi hæv
'rulz əv ʔʌŋktʃu'eɪʃən| bət 'ounli 'wʌn 'rul| tu 'mi ɪz ɪm'pɔʊənt| 'lɪsənəz|
juʒ 'mʌt'evə ʔʌŋktʃu'eɪʃən 'nesɪsɪrɪ| tu 'laɪtən ðə 'tæsk əv ðə 'rɪdə|
o'mɪt ʔɔl 'lʌðə||

'ʔæʊə 'fɪlɪŋ fə 'wɜdz ɪz 'sɪmələ|| wi prə'fɜ ðə 'ʃɒtɪs| 'sɪmplɪst 'wɜd| mɪtʃ
wɪl 'kæri ðə 'raɪtəz 'mɪnɪŋ|| ɪn ðə 'hændz əv ɪn'telɪdʒənt 'raɪtəz| 'wɜdz
ɪk'spres 'ʔaɪdɪəz| 'nat 'mɪə 'sæʊndz|| ænd 'ʔaɪdɪəz ə 'sɑmtaɪmz 'nʃʊməɾəs
ə'nɑf| tu rə'kwærə| ə 'lɑ-dʒ vɒ'kæbjələri||

wɪ m'sɪs ðət 'ɔl ðə 'wɜdz 'ʃʊdz bɪ fə'mɪljə| æn ɪn 'ɡʊd 'kʰənt 'ʃʊsɪdʒ||
wɪ 'ʃʊz nɔ 'fɒrən 'wɜdz| ʌn'les ðeɪ ə 'dʒenərəli ɪn'telɪdʒəbl tə ə'merəkənz||
wɪ 'ʃʊz nɔ ə'merəkən 'daɪəlekt| 'nat 'kɑmənli ʌndə'stʊd|| . . .

. . . 'læŋɡwɪdʒ 'ɡrouz ɪn 'lɪvɪŋ 'spɪtʃ| ænd 'wɜdz ə 'sɑm'taɪmz meɪd
'frefə| ʔæz ðə 'tɜmz əv 'wʌn 'ɡrup ɔə 'klæs| ə ə'plɑɪd bɑɪ ə'nʌðə||

'spoət ænd 'hʃʊmə 'meɪk 'pɒsəblɪ ðə 'lɑ-dʒəst 'kɑntrɪ'bʃʊfənz tu ðə
'dʒenərəl 'fʌnd|| 'sɑtʃ 'raɪtəz æz ðə 'leɪt 'rɪŋ 'lɑ-dnə| 'dʌbl ʃo mə'ɡiən|
'deɪmən 'rʌnʃən| 'ʔædɪd 'mɛni 'nju 'freɪzɪz| ænd 'sɑm 'nju 'wɜdz tu
'dʒenərəl 'ʃʊs||

kɑ'tʊnɪsts wɪð 'ðeə 'strips əv 'pɪktʃəz hæv bɪn prə'lɪfɪk|| 'kɪpɪŋ 'ʌp
wɪð ðə 'dʒʊnzɪz| bɪ'lɪv ɪt ɔə 'nat| ænd 'mɛni 'sɪmɪlə ɪk'spresfənz| wə
'teɪkən dɑ'rektli frəm ðə kɑ'tʊnz||

'ʔæʊð 'rul ɪz tu pə'mɪt 'ʔɔθəz ðə 'waɪdəst 'læɪtɪʃʊd kən'sɪstənt wɪð 'ɡʊd
'teɪst|| wɪ 'daʊnt pə'mɪt prɒ'fænətɪ| ʔɔə ɒb'senətɪ|| 'ɡʊd 'teɪst ʔæz 'wel
æz ðə 'pɒʊstəl 'lɔl ɪk'sklʊdz 'sɑtʃ ɪk'spresfənz|| bə'saɪdz| prɒ'fænətɪ ænd
ɒb'senətɪ ɑ- 'ʃʊʒʊli ðə 'mɑ-ks əv 'leɪzɪ 'raɪtɪŋ|| wɪ əθ ə'ɡens 'leɪzɪ 'raɪtɪŋ||

. . . wɪ əθ ə'ɡens 'slæŋ|| fə ðə 'ʃʊs əv 'slæŋ əb'skɪʊəz ðə 'raɪtəz 'mɪnɪŋ||
wɪ 'daʊnt 'θɪŋk ðət ðə 'wɜd 'læʊzɪ| ʃəd bɪ 'ʃʊdz tə kən'veɪ ə 'hʌndrəd
'mɪnɪŋz|| . . .

These transcriptions were prepared with the assistance of the following students in Phonetics at Teachers College, Columbia University: Nanabel Cassell, Lillian Clarke, Charlotte Cleeland, Blanche Jones, and Neva Wright.

EDITORIALS AND REVIEWS

'SCIENCE AND SANITY'¹

IT IS EVIDENT,' wrote Hume in his introduction to *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 'that all the sciences have a relation, greater or less, to human nature; and that, however wide any of them may seem to run from it, they still return back by one passage or another. Even Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Natural Religion, are in some measure dependent upon the science of man; since they lie under the cognizance of men, and are judged of by their powers and faculties. . . . Here, then, is the only expedient, from which we can hope for success in our philosophical researches: to leave the tedious lingering method which we have hitherto followed, and, instead of taking now and then a castle or village on the frontier, to march directly to the capital or center of these sciences—to human nature itself—which, being once masters of, we may everywhere else hope for an easy victory. . . . There is no question of importance whose decision is not comprised in the science of man; and there is none which can be decided with any certainty, before we become acquainted with that science. In pretending, therefore, to explain the principles of human nature, we in effect propose a complete system of the sciences, built on a foundation almost entirely new, and the only one upon which they can stand with any security.'

These are Hume's words, but they might almost serve today as both an introduction and a motto for the work now being attempted in general semantics. For what the semanticist is trying to do is Hume's task over again, namely, that of formulating a science of sciences. Such a task has become, of course, increasingly formidable since Hume's day; nevertheless, with the progressive specializing and atomizing of knowledge, the need for such an integration has become progressively more acute.

But to help us in such a task, we have two resources not available to Hume: first, we have a vast amount of new scientific knowledge, including such fundamental advances as the electrodynamic theory of matter, the non-Euclidean geometries, the relativity theory of Einstein, quantum mechanics, the chemistry of colloids, all of these completely overturning age-old categories and habits of speech; secondly, we have dramatic confirmation of the implications of the new sciences in our linguistic researches, which have established the fact that many of our so-called 'laws

1. *Science and Sanity: An Introduction to Non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics*. Second edition, with supplementary introduction and bibliography. By Alfred Korzybski. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Science Press Printing Company, 1941. lxxi, 798 pp.

of thought' are merely laws of the structure of the Indo-European languages.² In such findings of science, Korzybski claims, we have the foundations of a new epoch in human history. The first stage of human development, from his point of view, is that of the savage, prelogical mentality, with a one-valued semantics (or system of evaluations), in which, as Lucien Lévy-Bruhl has said, 'everything is everything else' by 'mystic participation.'³ The second stage is that on which European civilization has been based. There are sharp categories: 'This is this; that is that; this is not that'; the semantics are two-valued: a thing is either *A* or *not-A*; the use of powerful abstractions, such as 'space,' 'time,' 'matter,' 'causality,' appears with the development of vastly increased cerebral activity. This stage Korzybski calls 'aristotelian.' We are, however, on the threshold, he says, of a third stage: the 'non-aristotelian,' non-Euclidean, non-Newtonian stage. The complete revolution Einstein has produced in physics is only part of a general revolution that must eventually affect all human knowledge.⁴

In *Science and Sanity*, Korzybski offers us what he hopes is the handbook of this revolution. His system, which he calls 'general semantics,' is ambitious in content, far-reaching in its implications, yet its recommendations appear simple and practical. It involves at once a psychology, a unification of science, an educational method, and an ethics. As psychology, the distinctive feature of general semantics is that it regards the symbolic process as the basic differentiation between animal and human behavior. In accounting for human behavior it postulates the 'neuro-semantic environment'—the environment, that is, of dogmas, beliefs, creeds, knowledge, and superstitions to which we react as the result of our training—as a fundamental and inescapable part of our total environment. Mechanistic psychologies, as every humanist has complained, have, by ignoring or passing lightly over man's symbolic behavior, made overfacile analogies between men and animals, with the result that such behavior as is distinctively human was either neglected or crudely oversimplified. General semantics, as a psychology (or 'psycho-logics,' as Korzybski prefers to call it), by making man's symbolic processes and functioning the central object of study, claims to put the Prince of Denmark back into *Hamlet*.

As unification of science, general semantics explores such widely scat-

2. See, for example, Benjamin Lee Whorf, 'The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior to Language,' in *Language, Culture, and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir* (Menasha, Wisconsin: 1941).

3. Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1926).

4. See also Oliver L. Reiser, *The Promise of Scientific Humanism* (New York: Oskar Piest, 1940).

tered fields as the comparative neurology of animals and human beings, the behavior of children and savages, the behavior of mathematicians and scientists in the manipulation of their symbols, and the behavior of the mentally ill, and seeks to evolve from such explorations general laws regarding the assumptions that underlie sane, adult, productive orientations and those that underlie un-sane, infantile, self-destructive orientations. The aristotelian orientations, Korzybski claims, based upon ancient epistemologies and antiquated theories of nature, inevitably lead under present conditions to 'blockages.' These blockages manifest themselves in personal life as fixations, complexes, and neuroses; in public discussion, debate, and even in scientific discourse as the objectification of abstract entities, which results in inquiry being halted, sometimes for decades, sometimes for centuries, while men struggle over non-sense questions. The new orientation is based on the discarding of 'elementalism,' or the verbal splitting of that which cannot be empirically separated: space *and* time, body *and* mind, intellect *and* emotion, etc. In discarding this 'elementalism,' we discard that now almost inevitable tendency constantly to treat parts as if they were independent of the whole, and to treat the whole as if it were the sum of its parts. The 'law of identity' (*A* is *A*) is also discarded as empirically false-to-fact. An 'infinite-valued orientation,' based on the 'logic of probability,' is substituted for the 'two-valued orientation,' based upon the 'logic' of Aristotle. These and other formulations, which revise the basic assumptions underlying our language, Korzybski regards as the principles upon which the most advanced researches of modern science are based. Training in general semantics, he claims, will make possible the application of our newer scientific attitudes to problems hitherto found extremely difficult or insoluble. Such application will free the still struggling social, political, and ethical sciences from the shackles provided for them by our primitive linguistic heritage.

As an educational theory and method of mental hygiene, general semantics uses the non-aristotelian principles as a theory of sanity, to be applied to check and correct the evaluations we make in everyday life. By destroying the delusional worlds that all of us, in some respects at least, inhabit as the result of our evaluational habits, we clear the way, Korzybski says, for new knowledge and new orientations. Despair, disillusionment, doubt, and frustration are, in most cases, the result of miscalculations, which in turn disclose our improper responses to symbols or symbol-situations. These improper responses Korzybski calls 'signal reactions'—that is, invariability of response such as we would have if a chimpanzee were taught to drive a car: it would step on the gas at a

green light, even if another car were in its path. Similar invariabilities of reaction, both to linguistic and non-linguistic stimuli, he finds, are at the bottom of countless personal confusions as well as 'philosophical' dilemmas. So long as all of us are in some respects trained in animalistic response-systems, we cannot, Korzybski says, drive in the complicated traffic-stream of modern life without producing the kind of murderous traffic jam we now have.

General semantics, formulated as a system of retraining, is offered as a means of recanalizing those responses (both to linguistic and non-linguistic stimuli) that cause morbid over-excitations of the nervous system: retraining in such a way as to bring automatically into play the higher centers of the brain. The healthy human reactions he terms 'symbol reactions.' Education in symbol reactions, whether applied to a patient in a consultant's office, to students in a classroom, or by an individual to himself, is bound, Korzybski claims, to have beneficial results, since it breaks those vicious circles, great or trivial, that drain our energies and arrest our development.

Finally, as ethics, general semantics bases itself on the fundamental characteristic of man by virtue of which he is human, namely, his ability to accumulate knowledge and experience from generation to generation, so that each individual lives his life dependent on the products of the nervous functioning of other individuals, most of them unknown to him and long since dead. This human characteristic, so familiar that we rarely even think about it, yet so obviously the central fact of our humanity, Korzybski terms our 'time-binding' capacity. In the act of naming man the 'time-binder,' he at once gives a functional, non-elementalistic description of man, and prescribes his ethics. Moral behavior, so far as Korzybski is concerned, is that which promotes time-binding: that which preserves the knowledge and wisdom of the past, tends to bring human beings into agreement for the co-operative solution of their problems, and adds to human knowledge for the benefit of future generations. But time-binding is accomplished through the use of symbols. Without the recognition of time-binding as the central fact underlying human accomplishment, we have paid too little attention, he says, to the symbolic process, and we have uncritically permitted its abuses and misuses to flourish. We have been defining man in non-functional and elementalistic terms, either as an animal of somewhat superior kind, or as a fallen angel, with the result that we have unconsciously alternated between two absurdities, on the one hand imitating animals (usually the predatory ones), and, on the other hand, trying intermittently to behave like angels. With the recognition of time-binding, however, as the essential characteristic

of human life, the study of the proper and improper, the sane and the unhealthy operation of the symbolic process—the study, that is, both of the normal functioning and the pathology of our neuro-linguistic, neuro-semantic reactions—provides the basis for an ethics that is at once demonstrable and practical.

This is neither the time nor the place to evaluate all the other work being done in semantics at the present time: by I. A. Richards and his followers in literary criticism, by P. W. Bridgman and Bertrand Russell, by Rudolf Carnap and C. W. Morris and the 'Unity of Science' group, by Jerome Frank, Thurman Arnold, and E. S. Robinson in law, and by many others in many other fields, except to say that all have made extremely valuable contributions, and that no one interested in the subject can afford to leave any of them unread. Korzybski's 'non-aristotelian system,' however, appears to be at once the most inclusive and the most usable of the syntheses yet produced. However difficult the demonstrations and proofs of the system to be found in *Science and Sanity*, the principles to which general semantics can be boiled down are simple, and can readily be taught to students or applied to one's own work. According to reports now being accumulated both by Korzybski and his co-workers, the effects of such retraining and application appear to be beneficial wherever tried: in psychiatry, as Dr. C. B. Congdon of the University of Chicago, Dr. D. G. Campbell of the University of California, and Dr. Hervey Cleckley of the University of Georgia have reported; in speech correction, as Dr. Wendell Johnson of the University of Iowa and Dr. Spencer F. Brown of the University of Minnesota have reported; in the study of reading difficulties in elementary and secondary education; in the teaching of the sciences, in mental hygiene, and in many other fields, including, as I am able to report from my own experience, the teaching of English. Furthermore, mathematicians, psychiatrists, biologists, jurists, sociologists, philosophers, and artists have been provoked by Korzybski and the questions he has raised into new and exciting speculations.

In the face of this vast increase of interest on all sides in matters of language, students of linguistics are in a peculiarly favored position. Many of the commonplaces of linguistic science are also cornerstones of semantic thought. Linguistic students have long been familiar with the principle that no word ever has exactly the same meaning twice: that when by 'meaning' we refer to the relationship of an utterance to its total context, there is no such thing as identity. Comparative linguistics has offered us insights not often available to laymen into what is meant by 'the structure of language.' Phoneticians have familiarized us with

the notion of the absolute uniqueness of events, as well as with the process by which the human nervous system unconsciously abstracts significant features from unique *continua* of noises.⁵ In dealing with such terms as 'word,' 'sentence,' 'dialect,' 'the English language,' 'speech defect,' etc., we are constantly struggling against the objectification of fictional entities.⁶ In the problem of defining the phoneme, we have been familiarized with the character of the abstractional fiction, and through such familiarity we have been inducted into crucial questions of scientific method.⁷ Mentalistic 'causes' to which linguistic events have been attributed have been all but abolished by the rigorous empiricism of modern investigators of language.⁸ Students of the psychology of language, dialect geographers, students of speech pathology, have all been advancing the principle, in one direction or another, that the study of linguistic phenomena must take into consideration the totality of their non-linguistic contexts. In short, scientific students of language already have, toward the subject-matter which they investigate, that awareness of terminological pitfalls, that flexibility of evaluation, and that non-elementalism which general semantics regards as essential.

The student of language who studies general semantics will find himself convinced, I am sure, of two things, whatever may be the objections, corrections, or emendations he may wish to offer to the system. First, he will feel convinced that the study of language is a far more important subject than even he has ever ventured to claim. None of us, after all, would deny that symbolic behavior is central to all that we term human activity. Nor would we deny that patterns of behavior are determined to no inconsiderable degree by the language we happen to inherit.⁹ Still less would we shrug off the whole matter by saying, 'If you improve people's thoughts, their language will take care of itself.' Secondly, the student of linguistics will find it difficult to escape the conclusion that *some* system of *general* semantics, with Korzybski or without, is necessary for the integration of our linguistic researches with other fields of

5. See, for example, G. O. Russell, *The Vowel*, 1928, and *Speech and Voice*, 1931.

6. Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, 1933. On 'speech defects,' see Wendell Johnson, *Language and Speech Hygiene*, 1939, chapter II.

7. W. F. Twaddell, *On Defining the Phoneme*, Language Monograph, Linguistic Society of America, 1935.

8. Bloomfield, *op. cit.*; see also *Linguistic Aspects of Science*, 1939.

9. 'It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts oneself to reality without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. . . . We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation.' Edward Sapir, 'The Status of Linguistics as a Science,' *Language*, 5: 207-14, 1929.

human inquiry. Such conclusions will lead to profound reorientations in our work. Linguistics, purposefully redirected in such a way as to throw light on how man's linguistic machinery works and what it does, will tend to become less exclusively a study of the kinds of noises man makes, and more a study of what those noises stand for and result in.

Such a redirection of our studies ought, it appears to me, to be seriously considered. The investigation of the general laws governing the functioning and disorders of the symbolic process provides first of all a basis for the unification of disciplines in what are now apparently conflicting fields. For example, the teacher of English and the teacher of oratory and debate can find a common meeting ground in trying to inculcate in their students the habit of making meaningful statements, rather than glib or plausible statements. Furthermore, such investigations will provide a basis for the unification of graduate work in English, in which, as matters now stand, the student too often feels either that the study of linguistics is an unnecessary intrusion on his literary interests, or that literature is an intrusion on his linguistic interests. Again, general semantic studies will go a long way toward bridging the sometimes considerable gap that now exists between our interests as research workers in language or literature and the interests of our undergraduate students. There are few linguistic facts, drawn from whatever obscure source, which cannot, when fitted into a general system of semantics, be used to throw light on the problems of interpretation and of expression that confront, for example, our students in freshman English. When the relationship between our linguistic habits and our social, political, and personal dilemmas is made clear, few students will be found to be so indifferent to their own fate in life as to ignore what we have to tell them.

Again, to the investigator of man's symbolic processes, literature, no less than science, becomes a doubly significant study. Semantics need not be, as some appear to believe, hostile to literature and poetry. On the contrary, it can find in the literary manipulation of symbols not only a wide range of special linguistic phenomena to be accounted for, but also a powerful means of affecting the reader's neuro-semantic reactions toward greater flexibility and greater sanity. From the point of view of the general semanticist, the problems of proper literary interpretation may be regarded as special cases of the larger problem of proper neuro-semantic evaluations. Training in literary criticism, therefore, can assume a far greater importance in general education than non-literary people have ever been willing to accord it. A general semantics should, consequently, in addition to awakening linguistic students to an increased sense of their importance and obligations, revitalize literary criticism.

I do not know if what Korzybski terms the 'non-aristotelian orientation' is what is needed to solve the bitter paradoxes of modern civilization: the starvation in the midst of plenty, and the international misunderstandings that grow bloodier and more destructive with each advance in our methods of communication. But the fact that humanity needs some kind of fundamental reorientation has never been more apparent than it is today. If Korzybski is right in maintaining that the correction of the disordered functioning of our symbolic process is a root problem in human affairs—and I believe he is—then we, as students both of language and of literature, have an important part to play in making possible the future emergence of a culture less barbarous than our own.

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INTENSIVE LANGUAGE STUDY

AS AN INTRODUCTION to a new method in intensive language work Professor Bloomfield's *Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages*¹ is a short highly generalized treatment of the subject. The *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*² by Professors Bloch and Trager is intended as a more detailed follow-up. Bloomfield says (p. 1), 'Our schools and colleges teach us very little about language and what little they teach us is largely in error.' The pamphlets aim to show how the student 'may shift for himself.' The essence of the method is that the student should use instead of a teacher, an informant, that is, one who speaks his language well, but does not know too much about it. The student is first to get rid of any ideas he may have had about any other language, especially his own, and undertake a careful analysis of the sounds of the new language. It will help to write these sounds, but unless he intends to publish his work, he may use any symbols he chooses to indicate the sounds he hears. Once having got the sound system, he should proceed to record forms so that he may analyze the morphology of the language and set up a grammar for himself.

Bloch and Trager enlarge somewhat upon the general ideas presented by Bloomfield. They devote twenty-eight of their eighty-two pages to a discussion of phonetics and fifteen more to phonemics. They consider morphology in terms of word and morpheme, derivation and inflection,

1. *Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages*. By Leonard Bloomfield, Linguistic Society of America, 1942. 16 pp.

2. *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*. By Bernard Bloch and George L. Trager. Linguistic Society of America, 1942. 82 pp.

affixation, reduplication, suppletion, zero modification, to mention only a few of the subdivisions. They emphasize the fact that although words or parts of words have meanings, and although we get our classifications from meanings, we must nevertheless base those classifications on form, that is, on the differences and similarities in the phonemic structure of bases and affixes, or on the occurrence of words in particular types of phrases and sentences. 'Even this kind of definition, however, lies outside the scope of linguistic method, which is concerned solely with the linguistic symbols themselves' (p. 6).

I write as one who has used the system Messrs. Bloomfield, Bloch and Trager advocate in learning, recording and teaching English and European as well as Indian languages. I believe in the system, accept the fundamental principles of phonemics, and have therefore considered seriously the possibilities of making the method more easily accessible. Now it has been done, the question is, can the student shift for himself as the authors intend he should?

My students cannot analyze either sounds or expressions and the very words phonetics and phonemics strike terror into their souls. Several of them have been trained linguists and even they are quite naïve about the sounds of English when they hear them in the park and want to reproduce them rapidly for the drugstore clerk or doctor. Bloomfield says, 'No matter how ungifted or inexperienced the student, the peculiar shadings and the queer distinctions of a foreign language will seem clear as a pikestaff when he has once learned to hear them, and he will learn to hear them by a process of mere attrition, if only he is exposed long enough to the language' (Bloomfield, p. 7).

This is not corroborated by experience. On the other hand, if an individual is told what a sound is and how to make it, he quickly accommodates his vocal organs to it by intelligent practice. Ordinarily he does not find it out for himself; he hears it and practises it wrong.

Even though linguists are scarce, students should be taught how to analyze sounds by those who know. Once the distinctive sounds of a language have been worked out, it is unnecessary to make each novice do it again. Here is where the system becomes useful. The phonemics have been determined, the grammatical analysis has been made. It is still a far cry between reading and use, but the task is not as formidable as starting on the language from scratch. The student needs the confidence that a skilled teacher can give him, otherwise he flounders in the quicksands of verbiage or gives up before he gets a foot in.

It is doubtful whether any language can be useful on the basis of form alone. Certainly the greatest problem of English consists in the

fact that one may know all the forms and yet be unable to use or understand the language. The discussion of the twenty-six and more ways by means of which *-ous* is suffixed to a stem, no one of which has more than six examples, and most of which have only one, must be small comfort to a refugee whose very life depends upon the mastery of English. The flier forced down in Libya and faced by two hundred Arabs, would have little interest in the linguistic form of the utterance, 'I am an American,' in Arabic but he might forfeit his life by not knowing how to say it.

As I see it, intensive language method has the following task to fulfil. It must see to it that distinctive sounds are correctly pronounced, combined and written; it makes no difference what the sound system is called. It must point out the fundamental pattern of the grammatical system of a language; this it can do because the linguists have discovered the system. The student should not have to work it out anew, although he must make it his own. What he takes for his own must have above all a meaning which he can comprehend. Be he ever so willing to forswear his own language, he cannot do it, for without it he cannot think. Therefore he must get the new language through his own. Above all, he must not be scared off from the task by terminology he has no possibility of understanding. In other words, if a method is presented for a layman it should be couched in language which has a meaning for the audience it seeks to attract.

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MISCELLANY

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CONCERNING THE AMERICAN DIALECT DICTIONARY*

During the year, all dialect citations not already processed pre-editorially were banded under their respective vocabulary headings, in alphabetical order; were distributed and put in chronological order under the various senses of the headings; and were reviewed for numerous subeditorial purposes, which were effected. Furthermore, several thousand highly selected quotations either not hitherto printed or not hitherto collected were recorded and filed, the filing now requiring two minutes each, on the average, as against one a year ago.

Copy for a considerable medial section of the Vocabulary has been edited. Many hundreds of definitions have been written, necessarily, on contextual evidence alone. A recurring process is the determining of the relative frequency of pariforms in order that the more important may be arranged in series in the vocabulary entry, and the less important similarly after the definition. For example, there are some seventeen variants of *fice*, a small dog.

Facts concerning the pronunciation of a given term are collected in the place where the first definition

is found in standard-language dictionaries. Since pronunciation is only one of many important aspects of dialect, it does not here receive preponderant emphasis, nor explanation in symbols or terms beyond the comprehension of the general student of language. A simple system of International Phonetic Alphabet symbols is employed. For example: *ɑ emd tə ɡɪt ʃet ə hɪm lɔŋ əɡo bət hiz ə fevʔaɪt ə ʔə wamənz.*

As to scope, the separate terms and nonvocal entries approximate 15,000 to 20,000, a large proportion of which, as regards morphemes and semantemes as well as pronunciations, are not now found in any dictionary, mapbook, or the like. So far as available and desirable, data from many kinds of sources dealing with any area in English-speaking North America have been drawn upon; and concern the native American currency of, for example, *kindly* meaning 'kind of,' *ponhaus*, *fireboard*, *sleep in* ('oversleep'), *tarpoleon*, *crushaw*, *any more* at the beginning of sentences and in declarative sentences containing no negative, *percoon*, *mursh*, *granny woman*, *scattergun*, *furse*, *thuse*, *spung*, *canch*, *giverment*, *hippkins*, *haet*, *suption*, and numerous other regional or cultural departures, excluding slang, from the

* Summary of a paper read before the Yale Linguistic Club at New Haven in 1942-1943.

rather definite norm of native, educated, northern General American.

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DOG TERMINOLOGY

I am a little disturbed by a couple of sentences in Louise M. Ackerman's "Dog Pups" and "Horse Colts" (*American Speech*, 17: 238, Dec. 1942), simply because she reports practice of which I have been ignorant despite forty-odd years of opportunity for observation. She writes: 'A breeder of dogs will speak of a litter of pups as being so many *dog pups* (the males) and so many bitches (the females). . . . Only when referring to [dogs and horses] are the nouns of common gender applied to young males. In the case of dogs, *the use seems to cease after the pups reach maturity.*' (The italics are mine.)

I have been associated with dogs all my life, as owner, fancier, breeder, exhibitor, occasional judge, dog club officer, and dog writer, from Illinois to Kansas to New England to what Washington calls 'the District,' but this is new to me. I have read, I think, pretty nearly everything that has been written about dogs in this country in the last generation, and a large part of what has been published in England, but I have never noted in the dog fancy a male, regardless of age, called anything but 'dog,' nor a bitch anything but 'bitch.' I recall when, a few years ago, in answer to outraged pressure from the fancy, the *Cleveland Press* permitted dogs to

be called 'dogs' and bitches 'bitches' in the body of news stories reporting dog shows, field trials, and other doggy activities—but refused to use 'bitch' in a headline because people unacquainted with official terminology might not like it.

The dog show wins to which championship points are attached are 'winners dogs' and 'winners bitches,' and the winner may be of any age old enough to show. The dog or bitch is a puppy, under the rules, until it is a year old, and sometimes a puppy dog or bitch goes winners, but that is uncommon. Perhaps the average 'winners bitch' is two or three years old. In the fancy a bitch is a bitch from birth to death, and a dog likewise. It is probably true that no dog man (or woman) ever applied the term 'male' or 'female' to a dog except self-consciously out of deference to the nasty-nice sensibilities of persons unfamiliar with dogs.

'Dog pups' may be different. It happens that all of the breeders I have known, reporting a litter and asked its sex division, answer, 'Three dogs, two bitches,' or whatever it may be, without the qualifying term 'pups' after 'dog,' but there seems to be no reason why one might not say 'dog pup' as readily as he might say of a child 'baby boy.' In such a case, however, it is not clear to me why the breeders of Mrs. Ackerman's acquaintance should not say 'bitch pup' as well.

But this I do know. At a dog show anywhere from the Missouri River east, when the runners page the aisles and the handlers' quar-

ters for the first class in a breed to come up, they do not cry 'Dog pups!' Their shout is, 'Puppy dogs!' And when the dog classes have been judged, and the winners dog selected, the call for the first class in the other sex is 'Puppy bitches!'

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AT THE NORTH, 1941

In *American Speech* for December 1928 (IV, 100-101) Sir William Craigie asked for examples, especially recent ones, of the use of *at* in the idiom *at the eastward*, *at the south*, etc. The latest example that he knew of at the time was dated 1902.

In two notes (*American Speech* IV, 433 and VII, 154-156, August 1929 and December 1931) I gave further examples, primarily from the writings of George Carey Eggleston, and brought the idiom down to 1910. The DAE used one of these as its last example under *at* prep. I,1,b.

The following passage brings the idiom down to 1941. It comes from E. E. Ericson's 'Folklore and Folkway in the Tarboro (N.C.) *Free Press* (1824-1850),' *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, V, 109 (June 1941), near the top.

Mr. Ericson is speaking of the editorial ways and interests of an early nineteenth century editor, one George Howard, who peppered his newspaper with curious items: 'When Mr. Howard was not writing torrid anti-Whig editorials or contriving new advertisements for Allen's Balsam of Horehound,

Liverwort, and Pleurisy Root, or Steers' Chemical Ipecac, he was thumbing and clipping his exchanges—the Yankee papers at the North, the sheets of his fellow-Southerners, and the European exchanges.'

Mr. E. E. Ericson of the University of North Carolina is a frequent conscious contributor to *American Speech*. This time he has contributed unconsciously.

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'SKEMELTON'

Mr. Everett V. Cunningham of Fleischmanns, New York, now with the armed forces, inquires concerning the term *skemelton*, used in the sense of 'charivari,' which he heard in his New York region and which was new to him. *Skemelton* seems to be an unrecorded form of *skimelton*, of which Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* enters about nine variants, such as *skimish*, *skeemish*, *skimmenton*, *skimmerton*. It terms the word a variant of *skimmington* and defines it as a ceremony practiced on an unpopular person, a serenade with rough music, etc. *Skimmington* is included in unabridged dictionaries (Webster, Standard) in the sense of 'charivari.' *Skimelton* is reported in *Dialect Notes* II, 401, 1904 ('Some Lumber and Other Words') and its occurrence is noted from Roxbury, New York, and from Maine, in IV, 1913. E. P. Roe (1828-1888) used it in his novel *He Fell in Love with His Wife*.

L. P.

WORDS, WORDS, WORDS

I wouldn't know seems a point-less substitute for 'I don't know,' but it increases in currency. The emerging substitute for 'Yes' (see *Am. Sp.*, II, 132, 1926), *Could be*, is rather pointless too, but it affords a variant for *O.K.*

*Debulk*ed is now in use, meaning 'compressed.' C. B. Brown, director of advertising for NBC, wrote of 'dehydrated and debulked foods' in *Printer's Ink Weekly* for May 14, 1943.

'*Imagineering* is a nationwide must,' according to an Alcoa (Aluminum Company of America) advertisement of March 1943.

'We had jellied tomato bouillon. That in itself is a test. Usually this stuff looks like a lot of slick *slurpy* nothing.' *The Family Circle*, August 10, 1942, p. 10.

The legend under a photograph in the picture sections of many newspapers on April 17, 1943, read: 'Old Gray Mare—Government won't allow these horsemeat sausages, displayed in Oakland, California, to be called frankfurters, so they bear the appellation of "*whinny-burgers*."'

Bed Manners, published by the Arden Book Company, New York, is advertised in book periodicals as a 'guide to *Bediquette*—a very important and hilarious subject.'

Pay-day sickness is the name applied to weak excuses given by workers who absent themselves the day after pay day, according to the

Baltimore *Evening Sun*, February 19, 1943.

According to the *Family Circle* for February 5, 1943, lard is shipped in *tierces*, tangerines in *straps*, rice in *pockets*, and cabbages in *hampers*. A tierce is a cask larger than a barrel, smaller than a hogshead. A strap is a bunch or string, as of fruit or vegetables.

SAMPLES OF THE SPEECH OF A
FEW OLD-TIMERS

A colored woman born about 1870 in Louisiana near Vicksburg, Mississippi, raised there, and having little formal education, used the following expressions: *Entertain*, v., gossip. 'Come away from dat phone, you're jest entertainin.' *Jumped up*, adj., hurriedly organized, extemporized. 'I don' like dese jumped-up churches.' *Make miration*, v. phr., admire. 'Folks came to de ole plantation every Sunday and made miration.' *Put your feet in the road*,¹ v. phr., travel afoot. 'When you gotta get somewhere the best way is jes to put your feet in the road.' *Raise*, v., restore to health. 'Mama said, "Kin you raise her?" and de doctor said, "I think I can."' *Rest*, v. trans., lay aside. 'Won't you rest your coat?'

A white man, born in Ossining, New York, in 1856 and college educated, used these expressions: *Any God's quantity*, also *Any G. q.*, n. phr., a great deal or a great many. *Boil out*, v. phr., come out

1. Dr. M. M. Mathews tells me these last two locutions were known to him in Clarke County, Alabama.

hurriedly. *A he one* or *An old he one*, n. phr., one large of its kind. *Fish or cut bait*, v. phr., decide one way or the other. *There'll be hell to pay*, saying, There will be trouble. *Logy*, adj., sluggish. *Lunker*, n., one big of its kind. *Lunkhead*, n., a stupid person. *That'll show him there's a God in Israel* (or other wording embodying key phrase), saying, meaning he will get his deserts or revenge will be taken. *Since Hector was a pup*, adv. phr., a long time ago. *That explains the milk in the coconut*, saying, That's the reason. *Sit up nights*, v. phr., persevere in order to get something done. Often facetious, 'You cooked so many beans we'll have to sit up nights to eat 'em.' *Throw fits*, v. phr., have convulsions. Some of his favorite similes were: *Hard as Pharaoh's heart*, used in both abstract and concrete senses. *Hot as the hinges of Hades* (or hell). *All swelled up like a poisoned pup*. *Tight as a rivet*.

A white man, born at South Gorton (now Ayer), Massachusetts, in 1840, and college educated, liked these expressions: *Another breed of cats*, n. phr., something different. *Body and soul*, n. phr., entire. 'Some folks eat woodcocks body and soul.' *Junk*, n. a piece, especially a part cut off. 'Let me have a junk of that rope.' *Nooning*, n., mid-day intermission. *You can't tell from the looks of a toad how far he can jump*. Among his favorite similes were: *Handy as a pocket in a shirt*. *Hoppin' around like a toad in a*

skillet. *Loomin' up like a toad's tail in a fog*.

W. L. MCATEE

Chicago, Illinois

'DER PENNSYLVANISCH DEITSCH
EILESCHPIGDEL'

We are happy to call the attention of our readers to a new publication in the Pennsylvania German field, *Der Pennsylvanisch Deitsch Eileschpiggel*, edited by J. William Frey, Ralph C. Wood, and Alfred L. Shoemaker. The first issue, in neatly mimeographed form, appeared in August; the subscription price for six issues a year is 50 cents. The contents will include articles in Pennsylvania German, and notes on the dialect and on current activities in the field. Contributions, subscriptions, and requests for sample copies should be addressed to Dr. J. William Frey, Department of German, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

EDUCATIONAL RECORDINGS

The Recordings Division of the American Council on Education has been added to the New York University Film Library. This Division will continue to make available to schools, colleges and discussion groups recordings on educational subjects, to evaluate recordings offered by various agencies, to encourage the production of educational recordings, to advise teachers and discussion group leaders about recordings to use in their programs, to prepare and distribute carefully selected lists of educational recordings, and to fill orders for them.

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental and Alveolar	Retroflex	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d	ʈ ɖ		c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ	n	ɳ		ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Lateral Fricative			ɬ ɮ							
Lateral Non-fricative			l	ɭ		ʎ				
Rolled			r					ʀ		
Flapped			ɾ	ɽ				ɽ		
Fricative	ɸ β	ɸ ɸ	θ ð	ʂ ʐ	ʃ ʒ	ç ʝ	ç ʝ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Frictionless Continuants and Semi-vowels	w ɥ	ɹ ɹ	ɹ ɹ			j (ɥ)	(w)	ʁ		
Close	(y u u)					Front i y	Central ɨ u	Back ɯ u		
Half-close	(s o)					e ɛ	ə	ɤ ɔ		
Half-open	(œ ɔ)					ɛ œ	ɶ	ʌ ɔ		
Open	(ɒ)					æ	ʌ	ʌ		

(Secondary articulations are shown by symbols in brackets.)

OTHER SOUNDS.—Palatalized consonants: *t*, *d*, etc. Velarized or pharyngalized consonants: *ɬ*, *ɖ*, etc. Ejective consonants (plosives with simultaneous glottal stop): *p'*, *t'*, etc. Implosive voiced consonants: *ɓ*, *ɗ*, etc. *f* fricative trill. *σ*, *g* (labialized *σ*, *g*, or *σ*, *g*). *ɟ*, *ɟ* (labialized *f*, *g*). *ɬ*, *t*, *ɬ* (clicks, Zulu *c*, *g*, *x*). *ɬ* (a sound between *r* and *l*). *ɬ* (voiceless *w*). *ɬ*, *ɬ*, *u* (lowered varieties of *i*, *y*, *u*). *ɟ* (a variety of *ə*). *ə* (a vowel between *ə* and *ə*).

Affricates are normally represented by groups of two consonants (ts, tʃ, dʒ, etc.), but, when necessary, ligatures are used (ts, tʃ, dʒ, etc.), or the marks ͡ or ͣ (ts͡ or tsͣ, etc.). c, j may occasionally be used in place of tʃ, dʒ. Aspirated plosives ph, th, etc.

LENGTH, STRESS, PITCH.—: (full length). · (half length). ' (stress, placed at beginning of the stressed syllable). , (secondary stress). ¯ (high level pitch); ˉ (low level); ˊ (high rising); ˋ (low rising); ˊˋ (high falling); ˋˋ (low falling); ˊˋˊ (fall-rise). See *Ecriture Phonétique Internationale*, p. 9.

MODIFIERS.—~ nasality. ° breath (l = breathed l). √ voice (s = z). ' slight aspiration following p, t, etc. specially close vowel (ē = a very close e). , specially open vowel (ē = a rather open e). √ labialization (z = ʒ). √ labialization (n = labialized n). " dental articulation (ṭ = dental t). ° palatalization (z = ʒ). ° tongue slightly raised. √ tongue slightly lowered. √ lips more rounded. √ lips more spread. Central vowels (i = i), ü (= u), ē (= e), ö (= o), ä (= a), (e.g. n) syllabic consonant. √ consonantal vowel. √ variety of s resembling s, etc.

